School of Theology at Claremont
1001 1341640



The Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT

WEST FOOTHILL AT COLLEGE AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

THE Women of Methodism hold the place of honour in this volume. Their Auxiliary was founded in 1858, but from the beginning of the Society women had put their hearts into the work at home, and on the Mission Field had shared the burdens and perils faced by the heroic missionaries. The West Coast of Africa is unique in its roll of martyrs to the terrible climate. The last part of this history which Dr. Findlay wrote was the chapter on Sierra Leone. Methodism has reaped a rich harvest here and in the Gambia, Gold Coast, and Lagos. The Great Trek in South Africa is a wonderful romance which shows how the Gospel has met the needs of the native races. No mission field has called more urgently for enterprise and statesmanship, and the men in charge have risen nobly to the greatness of their opportunity. The last part of the volume has an interest all its own. It describes the Missions in Europe, and reaches its climax in the closing chapter on Italy. This is mainly from the pen of the Rev. Henry J. Piggott, whose long residence in Rome gave him unique insight into the difficult problems of a fascinating field.

# THE HISTORY
OF THE
# WESLEYAN METHODIST
# MISSIONARY SOCIETY

BV
2550
A7
F5
v.4

# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

BY

G. G. FINDLAY, D.D.

AND

W. W. HOLDSWORTH, M.A., B.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. IV.

'Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God, who created all things; to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.'—ST. PAUL.

'I look upon all the world as my parish.'—JOHN WESLEY.

LONDON

THE EPWORTH PRESS

J. ALFRED SHARP

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

*First Edition*, 1922

# PREFACE

THIS Volume contains an account of the Missionary service of the Methodist Church in Africa and on the Continent of Europe.

It was to these fields that some of the first Women Missionaries were sent, and it is therefore appropriate that the Introduction to this Volume should record the birth and the growth of the Women's Auxiliary.

A pathetic interest attaches to the chapter on work in Sierra Leone, inasmuch as it was the last chapter of the Centenary History actually written by Dr. Findlay before his death.

The greater part of the chapter on Italy has been taken from a Memorandum prepared at the request of Dr. Findlay by the Rev. H. J. Piggott, B.A., for the purpose of this History. Mr. Piggott's story of the earlier years of the Italian Mission conveys so admirable an account, not only of the Wesleyan Mission in Italy, but also of the political and religious condition of that country, that it has been thought well to embody in this record that Memorandum practically as it came from the pen of Mr. Piggott, though much of it has already appeared in the excellent volume lately published : *The Life and Letters of Henry J. Piggott, B.A.*, by T. C. Piggott and Thomas Durley.

# CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

## PART I

### The Women's Auxiliary

### CHAPTER I

The Birth of the Women's Auxiliary . . . 13–41

Work of Women on the Mission Field—The Missionary's Wife—Methodist Women at Home—Organized Effort—Mrs. Batchelor—A Meeting at the Mission House—'The Ladies' Committee'—A Call from Ceylon—First Women Missionaries—Appointments to South Africa, China, India—Changes on the London Staff—Biblewomen—Boarding Schools—Orphanages.

### CHAPTER II

The Growth of the Women's Auxiliary . . . 42–69

Mrs. Wiseman—Her Place and Influence on the Committee—A great Career brought to a worthy Close—Meetings to advocate the Work of Women—The Women's Auxiliary at the May Meetings—Development of Work on Mission Fields—Medical Work in Madras and Hankow—Work of Women in India, Burma, and other Fields—Opposition in India—The Jubilee of the Auxiliary—The Death of Mrs. Chubb—Increases of Income for Women's Work.

## PART II

### Missions in West Africa

### CHAPTER I

Sierra Leone . . . . . 71–117

A Refuge for Slaves—Interest of the Wesleyans—The first Missionary—Eight Months' Service—'The White Man's Grave'—Disheartening Features of the Work—Views and Hopes—John Huddlestone—The Workmen Buried—The Work Carried on—A Government Inspection—Henry Badger—The Bondoo Superstition—Thomas Champness—A Message from Dr. Osborn—Benjamin Tregaskis—The Hut Tax—Matthew Godman—An Apostate—Pagan Reaction—The Modern Period of the Mission—An Official Visit—William Balmer—'A City set on a Hill.'

### CHAPTER II

The Gambia District . . . . . 118–146

St. Mary's Island—The Mandingoes—The Foulah Tribe—Morgan and Baker—An unfortunate Start—A better Location—A definite Policy—McCarthy's Island—The Toll of Death—Willaim Moister—MacBrair—An educational Scheme—The Foulah Mission—Thirty Years' Work—The Roll of Honour—Henry Badger—New Stations—The Education Department—Report of W. H. Findlay—Mr. G. Armatage—The Native Ministry—A threefold Need.

### CHAPTER III

The Gold Coast . . . . . 147–201

(*a*) 'First the Blade.'

Europe and 'The Coast'—African Tribes—The Slave-trade—The first Missionary—A wide Outlook—Death of Mr. Dunwell—The Filling of the Gap—Thomas Birch Freeman—Kumasi—Reinforcements—'The Homing Instinct'—A Call from Abeokuta—Shodeke—Freeman in Dahomey—Lagos—Freeman's Difficulties—William West—His Visit to Kumasi—The Ashanti War.

(*b*) 'Then the Ear.'

Dahomey—Leaders fallen on the Field—Picot and the Ashantis—Terry Coppin and the Ashantis—The Marriage Questino—Dennis Kemp—Aburi—Fanti Language and Literature—Cannell's Work—Educational Efforts—Schools for Girls—Wesley Deaconesses—Developments on the Coast—Kumasi again—Rapid Growth of the Church—African Ministers—The Danger of Drink—The Moslem Menace.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAGOS DISTRICT . . . . . 202–233

John Milum—' Remember Lake Chad '—The Niger—Domestic Slavery—John Rhodes—J. T. F. Halligey—Ibadan—Those Fallen on the Field—Bryan Roe—Work in Dahomey—Alfred Bartrop—Ijebu Remo—The Way to Nigeria—Ilesha—Medical Work—An Official Visit—Educational Work—' The Shadows of Futurity.'

PART III

SOUTH AFRICA, THE TRANSVAAL, AND RHODESIA

*SOUTH AFRICA*

CHAPTER I

THE TREK OF THE CHURCH . . . . . 235–268

The Church on Wheels—The Romance of History—Methodist Soldiers—The first Missionary—The Second—Government and Missions—The Call—Khamiesberg—Great Namaqualand—The first Martyrs—The second Column of Advance—Albany Colonists—William Shaw—The ' Chain of Stations '—The Kafir Mission—The first Link—Other Links of the Chain—Cape Town—First Mission to the Barolongs—Uncertain Policies—Thaba Nchu.

CHAPTER II

THE OUTSPAN . . . . . 269–299

White and Black in South Africa—Kafir Wars—Dr. John Philip—Conflicting Ideals—Victims of War—The Orange Free State—Survey of the Field—A Christian Chief—Natal—The Fingoes—After-effects of War—Racial Suicide—Sir George Grey's Administration—Industrial Schools—A great Revivalist—Times of Refreshing—The Dutch in Natal—Durban—James Allison—' Unzondelelo '—William Shaw, a Finished Course.

CHAPTER III

THE CITY THAT HATH FOUNDATIONS . . . . 300–326

Hindu Labour—Grahamstown—Queenstown—Clarkebury—Pondo-land—Thaba Nchu—Kimberley—Cape Town—The Passing of Barnabas Shaw—Education in South Africa—Premonitions of the South African Conference—John Kilner's Visit—Independent Administration—Epilogue.

## *THE TRANSVAAL*

### CHAPTER I

TREASURE HID IN A FIELD . . . . . 327–357

A new Mission—The Barolongs—George Blencowe and David Magata—Potchefstroom—Natal and the new Mission—The Boers—Owen Watkins—Aapjee's River—Molema and Mafeking—Samuel Mathabathe—Swaziland and Msimang—Gold at the Witwatersrand—Watkins in Zululand—Mafeking—The Crossing of the Limpopo—The Boer War—Delagoa Bay and Robert Mashaba—The Witwatersrand Mission—Two Martyrdoms—An Official Visit.

### CHAPTER II

THE PROOF OF FAITH MORE PRECIOUS THAN GOLD . . 358–377

Amos Burnet—The Native Ministry—Finances—Wesley Deaconesses—A Tour of the District—Pretoria—Kilnerton—The Barolongs—The Zoutpansberg and Good Hope Mission—Pietersburg—The Mission to the Swazies—Ermelo—The Native Land Bill—Statistics.

## *RHODESIA*

### CHAPTER I

THE FOOLISHNESS OF THE PREACHING . . . . 378–393

Rhodesia—The British South Africa Company—Makalanga and Matabele—Pioneer Missionaries—Isaac Shimmin—The Ministry of Song—Tribal Revolt—The first Martyrs—Epworth—Translation of the Scriptures—Nengubo—A Fingo Settlement—Industrial Missions.

### CHAPTER II

THE POWER OF GOD, AND THE WISDOM OF GOD . . 394–413

The Rev. John White—Selukwe—Tebekwe—The Church in Epworth—Ranga—A Notable Year—The Crossing of the Zambesi—Kwenda—The Racial Question—Chipembi—W. Comber Burgess—Gatooma—Nengubo.

## PART IV

### Missions in Europe

### CHAPTER I

The Earlier Missions . . . . . 415–426

A Skeleton Map—Andrew Armour in Gibraltar—James McMullen—Dr. W. H. Rule—The Attempt in Cadiz—A Missionary Objective—Steps towards Palestine—Malta—Zante—Alexandria—The Call to Sweden—Samuel Owen—George Scott—Violent Opposition—Withdrawal.

### CHAPTER II

The Iberian Peninsula . . . . . 427–443

Revolution in Spain—Barcelona—The Balearic Islands—Hopes Unfulfilled—Robert Simpson—Madrid—J. G. Wheatcroft Brown—Franklyn Smith—An Outburst of Fanaticism—Tenacious Methodists—The Call from Portugal—Mr. James Cassels—R. H. Moreton—A Hard Struggle—A. H. da Silva—An Attempt in Lisbon—Retirement of Robert Moreton.

### CHAPTER III

France and Switzerland . . . . . 444–459

The Claims of France—Dr. Coke visits Paris—Charles Cook—Methodism in Paris—In the South of France—A 'French' Methodism—Lausanne—A Rebuff—The French Conference—Its first President—Financial Arrangements—Difficulties—Other Protestant Communions in France.

### CHAPTER IV

Germany and Austria . . . . . 460–476

Gottlieb Müller—John Lyth—J. C. Barratt—Bavaria—Bohemia—Austria—The Passing of a great Missionary—The Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany—Austria—The Baroness Von Langenau—Inhibited.

## CHAPTER V

ITALY . . . . . 477–514

The Risorgimento—Richard Green and Henry Piggott—The Beginning of the Italian Mission—Evangelistic Agencies in Italy—Italian Ministers—Milan and Naples—Educational Work—Retrenchment—Church Organization—Padua—Raggh ianti—Methodism in Rome—Sciarelli—Capellini's Mission to Soldiers—Village Evangelization—Pontificate of Leo XIII —Rearrangements—Retirement of Piggott and Jones—William Burgess—Union of Churches—Subsequent Developments.

# PART I

## The Women's Auxiliary

# I

## BIRTH OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY

Work of Women on the Mission Field—The Missionary's Wife—Methodist Women at Home—Organized Effort—Mrs. Batchelor—A Meeting at the Mission House—'The Ladies' Committee'—A call from Ceylon—First Women Missionaries—Appointments to South Africa, China, India—Changes on the London Staff—Bible-women—Boarding Schools—Orphanages.

'THE man,' said St. Paul the Missionary, 'is not without the woman in the Lord.' The Women's Auxiliary to our Missionary Society did not, indeed, come into existence till the year 1858; then women's work on the Mission Field began to be systematically organized; but from the outset Methodist women have played an indispensable part in the actual service. Not unfrequently they have been the initiators, rather than the auxiliaries, in the missionary movements of the Church.

This was so in the case of Barbara Heck, the homely Irish emigrant, who (to quote the inscription placed over her grave) 'under God brought into existence American and Canadian Methodism.'

The monument raised to her honour in July, 1909, by the Methodists of the Western continent, which stands in the little Anglican burying-ground at Prescott, Ontario, where her body rests, is built upon twin bases of granite hewn from the quarries of the States and the Dominion, signifying the union in this homage of the two great sister Churches which own her motherhood. Earlier still, Susanna Wesley reared her sons John and Charles to be the creators of Methodism, instilling missionary principles into their breast with the lessons of their childhood.

From the days of Barbara Heck down to the present, in every land where fathers or brothers or husbands laboured for Christ, our Methodist sisters have served by their side the heavenly Master, with the devotion which marked the women of the Gospel story. If early Methodism did not supply the many vocations now open to its gifted women, it provided a

sphere for their best spiritual service in the function of class-leadership, and encouraged them to take their part in public prayer. These and kindred offices of nurture and teaching they were called to exercise abroad even more urgently than at home. Sometimes, as in the case of Mary Black of Nova Scotia, the Missionary's wife became virtually the pastor of the flock of Christ around her dwelling, seeing to its care in her husband's absence, and thus making him free for wider evangelism.

But the greatest help our pioneer missionary women lent to the cause of Christ was found in the exhibition of a Christian domestic life, shedding the light of a pure, gentle, and beneficent womanhood amid the loathsomeness of heathen society. None can tell the sufferings endured in the early days of the African and Polynesian Missions by refined and delicately nurtured Englishwomen, who accompanied their husbands to barbarian shores. In such circumstances motherhood came for the first time to Hannah Hunt, living in cruel Somosomo, the darkest corner of dark Fiji, where her young husband was unable to protect his home with a fence, and might not shut doors or windows against the reek from the cannibal ovens hard by. Of the death of their baby son the stricken father writes: 'Never shall I forget the patience with which the tender-hearted mother bore this, as well as all the trials that preceded it. The only thing which revolted her was laying his dear body amongst the slain of Fiji.' 'Let us go in the name of the Lord,' said Ann Shaw to her husband, as he shrank from subjecting her, with her new-born infant, to the privations and perils of the first journey into Kaffraria. 'Cannot we remain, and prosecute our Mission somewhere in the island?' pleaded Ann Turner, when an irruption of Maori warriors had driven the Mission family with their little children into the wilderness in utter destitution.

Nor have the women of the Mission Churches proved unequal in courage and fidelity to their English sisters. During the bitter days of West Indian persecution the Methodist Society was held together in many a place by coloured women, slaves or free, who as class-leaders and prayer-leaders filled the place of pastors to the harried flock. Pre-eminent among these was Ann Gill, a widow of Bridgetown, in Barbados, who when, in 1823, the chapel was demolished by a mob of white men, and

the Missionary fled for his life, opened her house for daily fellowship and prayer, undaunted by the threats of the ruffians who destroyed the place 'where Methodism was again rearing its hideous head.' On the other side of the world, amongst like instances, there was Mrs. Schrader, school mistress of Jaffna, in North Ceylon, whose 'heart the Lord opened' and who set herself in middle life to master the English language, rendering through its acquisition invaluable aid both by tongue and pen to the first preachers. Many a time our West African Missionaries have told of some dark-hued 'auntie' who by sleepless devotion and skilful care has turned back the tide of deadly fever. Precious ministries and heroic sacrifices of humble Native folk redeemed from paganism and slavery have been repeated in every clime, endearing their converts to those who had won them for Christ, a lavishing of love that will count with her service who 'anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped His feet with her hair.'

Unprompted and unsalaried, Methodist women of talent, stirred by the ignorance and irreligion around them, have set lights shining in dark places overseas. There was Mrs. Busby, who a century ago started the first school for girls at Carbonear, in Newfoundland, and gave an impulse to education on the north shore of the island which has never died out. Yet earlier we find Mrs. Baxter striving to instil into the wild and timid Carib girls of St. Vincent some rudiments of the art of home-making. Our Missionaries, despite the hardships and the often deadly perils of their calling, have been for the most part domesticated men; and their wives and daughters have dispensed a rich ministry on every field in the alleviation of suffering, the enlightening of ignorance, the sweetening and purifying of homes. They have thus brought the powers of the kingdom of God as a transmuting leaven into the innermost domains of life, and have recreated its lost sanctities. Woman's work in aid of the Methodist Missions did not commence with the starting of the Women's Auxiliary Society in 1858; it is as old as the Missions themselves.

At home the women of Methodism, when the Foreign Missions were first projected, felt their responsibility to Christ on this account. Leaving public advocacy and administration to the other sex, they took themselves 'the drudgery of charity,' furnishing a host of patient and diligent collectors, who enforced

their house-to-house appeals with the personal argument and explanation that prevail where platform eloquence is at a discount or where it cannot reach. In the early days of the Society Methodist women formed working-meetings, held bazaars, even took out hawkers' licences enabling them to sell the products of their charitable industry from door to door. They exercised, under the limitations of poverty, or where help was grudged by the purse-holder, a thousand little ingenuities and economies in order to swell the missionary contributions of the home. While they were rarely able to subscribe on their own account large sums, it is probable that quite half of the amount yearly raised for the missionary funds was due, directly or indirectly, to the labours and influence of the women of our Home Churches.

Attempts at organized missionary effort by women for women were early made. A letter is extant which was addressed to the Mission House in 1821 by Mr. F. Baskerville, of Bristol, in which this gentleman reports :

> A few weeks ago my wife felt an impression relative to the poor infatuated females in India. I strongly urged her to raise a Female Association ; but she being timid, I still urged her, telling her that most things begin in a small way. After a while she began, single-handed. She has several donations, but mostly promises of yearly subscriptions already amounting to over £26. She wishes to know if the money so raised can be sacredly kept for the purpose in view ; if not, she cannot go on, as this is her intent. We have headed our book ' *The Kingsdown Female Association for the support of the Wesleyan Native Schools, Ceylon.*'

The Missionary report of the next year contains the following mournful entry : ' Kingsdown Female Association, per the late Mrs. Baskerville, £27 11*s.* 6*d.*' No other member of the Association, it appears, came forward to take up Mrs. Baskerville's relinquished task, and nothing more is heard of the Kingsdown Female Association. But it was harbinger of future days.

In 1835 Elijah Hoole, then lately returned from India, and Assistant Secretary of the Missionary Society, married Elizabeth Chubb, of Portsea. Amongst Mr. Hoole's duties was that of making provision in his house for young men who were candidates for foreign service or preparing to sail. In this hospitality Mrs. Hoole heartily entered. Though a delicate, retiring woman, the hostess took a motherly interest in her missionary guests ; with many of them she corresponded after

they left her roof. Learning the needs incident to their work abroad, she cast about for ways of helping them, and enlisted her numerous friends in manifold modes of assistance, until, without any settled design, she had woven a web of communication linking the wants of almost every Foreign Station to supplies drawn from the different quarters of the Church at home. Whatever time she could spare from the management of a large and various household, and from the little sons whom she so carefully trained, she spent in needlework on behalf of the Missions, in packing goods nicely chosen to suit the necessities of each Mission, and in penning letters of counsel or cheer to missionary wives in lonely or perilous surroundings. Mrs. Hoole became, in effect, the Women's Secretary of the Society. This lady was also the originator of the *Juvenile Offering*, our first missionary magazine for children, which she skilfully edited for twenty years.

During the weary half-century, from 1813 onwards, that our Missionaries to the East spent in breaking ground, the necessity for specialized women's work forced itself upon them. Oriental women are inaccessible to religious ministrations from the other sex; none but the men of their own household may converse with them. Education, though welcomed for boys, until recently was refused to girls. 'Milk is good,' the Hindu father would say when invited to send his daughters to the Mission school; 'but milk given to snakes becomes poison!' Ignorance was esteemed an ornament to women; submission and self-effacement formed their best title to honour. When here and there a Missionary's wife gathered a handful of girls about her and won her way into their homes, the full misery of a family system based on child marriage and the degradation of widows disclosed itself. The foul superstitions, the sickening fears, the cramped faculties, the needless, unpitied, and stifled sufferings of Indian womanhood—all this welded into an iron system by the fierce conservatism with which grandmothers stamp traditional customs on the younger women—appealed poignantly to Christians admitted to the secrets of the prison-house. Hindu society, moreover, is so knit together by its religious order, and forms so close and binding a solidarity, that its men can never be brought into Christ's liberty and under Christ's laws, until the new light penetrates the zenana. Missionaries' wives, preoccupied by family claims and

by a climate which bears hardly upon the European woman, could do but little in this indispensable task. Women helpers were required who should be free to pour their whole soul and strength into the struggle for emancipation.

In 1837 an undenominational society was formed in England to aid missionary work in this direction, under the name of 'The Ladies' Society for Promoting Female Education in China and the East.'[1] In the following year this Association, amongst the first agents it called out, sent a lady to assist the Methodist Missionary and Educational Pioneer, Peter Percival, at Jaffna, 'in his extensive plans of female education.' This was a Miss Twiddy, the first officially appointed Methodist woman Missionary—daughter of Thomas Twiddy, a Wesleyan Minister who laboured in the Home Circuits from 1808-38—a woman of exceptional gifts, attractive personality, and thorough devotion. She married in course of time Peter Batchelor, a Missionary who rendered long and efficient service to the Society in India (1838-61) and subsequently in South Africa (1862-74). As Mrs. Batchelor, she continued her labours with great activity and success. To Mrs. Batchelor it occurred that some such Society as that by which she had been at first employed might be instituted for the particular benefit of the Wesleyan Mission ; she wrote to this effect to Miss Farmer, the daughter of the Missionary Society's Treasurer. Mrs. Batchelor's letter was a careful and convincing statement of the case ; its plea fell in with thoughts already entertained at home. On its being shown to them the Bishopsgate Secretaries approved the proposal and sanctioned the summoning of a meeting for its consideration, to which two ladies were invited from each London Circuit. This gathering took place at the Mission House on December 20, 1858. Mrs. William Arthur, Miss Chubb, Mrs. and Miss Farmer, Mrs. G. B. Macdonald, Mrs. Stringer Rowe, Mrs. John Scott, Miss Wood,[2] were amongst those present. Dr. Hoole and Mr. Arthur attended officially to open the meeting, but after a general statement on the situation the Secretaries retired, leaving the ladies to manage

[1] This Society continued in existence until 1890, when most of its work was taken over by the Church Missionary Society.

[2] This lady became the wife of Adam Story Farrar, a distinguished Anglican scholar and Preacher of Methodist family, for many years Canon of Durham. Mrs. Farrar remained through a long life faithful to her early friends, and a liberal subscriber to Wesleyan Missions.

their own business. On that first afternoon a Committee was formed and a plan drawn up for the holding of public meetings, with a view to the systematic promotion of women's work on the Mission Field. Mrs. Hoole, who was already busy in this way on her own account, was selected as Foreign Correspondent, Miss Farmer as Home Correspondent of the Committee. Miss Wood was appointed the Minute and Cash Secretary. Arrangements were made for regular communication with Missionaries' wives and other ladies assisting on the Foreign Stations, and for the selection and preparation of women suitable for employment abroad, who should be assisted from the funds of the Association.

An *Occasional Paper* (soon to grow into a regular quarterly and now known as *Woman's Work on the Mission Field*) was arranged for; the first number appeared in the following March. A title was adopted which showed the modesty of the promoters, and their carefulness to make their aims and position perfectly clear: 'The Ladies' Committee for the Amelioration of the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries, Female Education, &c.'

The Secretaries at Bishopsgate drew up a circular on the subject addressed to all the Circuits of the Connexion. In this communication they acknowledge the previous services of Methodist women to the common cause, speaking of them as 'able and zealous fellow workers in almost every town and city in the kingdom. It has been suggested, however,' the circular continues, 'that by the formation of a Society, or Committee, for the important objects intimated, those operations which, though valuable, have been to some extent isolated, desultory, and occasional, might be combined in one system and fostered into vigorous and regular action so as to give assurance to the female labourers in the foreign field that their circumstances, being understood and appreciated, would receive due consideration in the application of the means which may be placed at the disposal of the Ladies' Committee; and at the same time to afford a guarantee to the ladies throughout the country who may co-operate in this good work, that their contributions for this object shall be promptly and faithfully applied according to their wishes.' Evidently the Mission House intended the sister association, though entitled a 'Committee,' to stand upon its own feet, and to do its chosen

work untrammelled by any formal control or delimitation of province on the part of the parent Society. The personal relation of most of the women leaders to the heads of department at the Mission House afforded guarantees of common counsel and a mutual understanding.

The Ladies' Committee thus sets forth its plans in its earliest prospectus: 'Our chief aim will be to take measures for securing the efficiency of Girls' Schools already commenced, and for increasing the number of such Schools. Hitherto the labour and responsibility of establishing and maintaining Girls' Schools on Foreign Stations have devolved principally on the wives of our Missionaries. Many of these noble-minded women have done a great work with small means; but it is felt that they have been allowed to bear too heavy a burden.

'Many a promising school has been suspended or broken up in consequence of the sickness, the increasing family cares, or the removal to a distance of the lady who first formed it. We hope to remedy this evil by training and sending out suitable persons as teachers, to act under the direction of the Missionaries and their wives. The Normal College at Westminster, and other educational establishments, afford facilities for preparatory training such as did not exist in the early days of Christian Missions. . . . The choice of right persons for our work must be admitted to be a matter of some difficulty. Many young women in the glow of early zeal are ready to go far hence for Christ's sake; there are but few who, without the incentive of many eyes upon their work and many tongues speaking their praise, have patience to endure and strength to persevere through years of toil, in spite of hardship, disappointed hopes, and failing health.' The founders of the Auxiliary manifestly unite caution and insight with an enterprising spirit.

After defining the qualifications for candidature, the ladies set forth their views on the home organization of women's work for Missions.

> We are wishful [they write] to gather into one centre the isolated efforts of Christian ladies in the various towns and villages of our land. Through local associations gifts of money and of work have been in past years freely poured into the Mission treasury. The General Committee rejoices to place in the hands of ladies, to whom it appropriately belongs, the duty of receiving these gifts and transmitting them to their

various places of destination . . . and of supplying to the kind givers information as to their ultimate reception and appropriation. For this purpose, as well as to cheer the hearts of the labourers on our Foreign Stations, a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence is appointed.

The statement finely concludes:

> Wherever a Methodist Station is planted, there we ought to have a special provision for the daughters of the people. Let us only have the training of the girls of this generation, and the mothers of the next will see their sons rise up to bless us.

The launching of the new Association was hailed with joy by missionary workers at home and abroad. 'The very existence of your Committee,' writes Thomas Hodson from the Mysore, 'has excited us all,' while Mrs. Richard D. Griffith, of Bristol, as a Missionary's widow, who but recently completed a long lifetime of devotion to the cause, exclaims with delight: 'Now, we may hope, the Missionaries' wives will live longer!'

The balance-sheet of the Ladies' Committee for 1859 records an income of almost £320—an encouraging total for the first year. Half of this sum was received at head quarters; the remainder was contributed through eight provincial Branches, amongst which those of Huddersfield and Bristol were the most productive. Grants were allotted to Schools at five principal Indian Stations, also to Canton, to Verulam in Natal, to the Mission at Hudson Bay, North America. The expenses of training for two ladies proffering service abroad were paid, and outfits were provided for four dispatched to the field. One of the latter was Miss Batchelor, sent to her mother's assistance. This was a great deal to do out of £320! The following year sees the revenue advanced to £400. Ceylon now claims a grant for the Jaffna School; South Africa gets a larger share; Belize, in Honduras, is added to the list of beneficiaries, and North America drops out. Two years later (1862) West Africa is favoured with a contribution in aid of a School under the care of Mrs. Thomas Champness.

Gifts of clothing and dress-material, hardware and fancy goods for sale, flowed into the repository, and were distributed to every part of the Mission Field. Warm clothing and household utensils were sent in great quantities to the Missions amongst the North American Indians, where the old women and little children suffered pitifully from the cruel frosts.

The first Missionary sent abroad by the Ladies' Committee was Susannah Gooding Beal, appointed in 1859 head mistress of a School for English-speaking children at Belize, in British Honduras. Unhappily yellow fever, arch-enemy of the newcomer to the Isthmus, cut short Miss Beal's useful life in the following year. Two successive appointments were made to the same post; but since 1868 the Auxiliary has been unable, to its lamentable disadvantage, to render help to the West Indian Districts. To Fiji a teacher was sent in 1860; when, after four years' service, her health gave way, the appointment was not renewed. The other accepted candidates of 1860, four in number, were all appropriated for India.

At this time the Girls' Boarding School at Royapettah, Madras, initiated by Mrs. Roberts (widow of the Rev. Joseph Roberts) was exciting admiration, and a degree of envy, amongst all our South Indian workers. Its success was mainly due to the character of the Eurasian matron, Mrs. Compton; 'to obtain such a person elsewhere,' writes Mrs. Hodson, 'is an all but insurmountable difficulty.' The example of Royapettah demonstrated the incomparable value of well-trained Indian-born Native women for local needs. Efficient institutions for this purpose would obviate the necessity for importing any large number of European helpers. It was not trained teachers only that they were wanting in the case of Boarding Schools, for which the growth of the Christian community raised an urgent demand; the lack was felt of 'truly pious, sensible' Native Christian women to fill the office of matron, women competent to carry out instructions in regard to domestic provision and discipline, and at the same time to mother the girls in matters of character, and to guard them from temptation and reproach. Attempts had been made nearly twenty years earlier toward the establishment of Boarding Schools, both at Bangalore and Mysore City; 'but,' sighs Mrs. Hodson in 1859, 'the work of female education can hardly be said to have commenced—that is, in the Wesleyan Mission'; while Mrs. Pinkney (of Bangalore) reports that the experience of the more enterprising L.M.S. in this direction was discouraging rather than otherwise.

Ceylon showed the way, in this as in other missionary undertakings. From Batticaloa, about the date last named, John Walton is able to write with enthusiasm of the influence

exercised in the Mission by local women helpers of character and ability. 'The Tamil Girls' School here,' he says, 'has been in operation upwards of twenty years; it owed much in its early days to Mrs. Stott. The teacher, Mrs. Somanaden, is the eldest daughter of our principal leader and Local Preacher, the first Native in the District in character as well as rank. Her mother for nearly forty years held the office of class-leader, and did much by her example and influence for all female education, and the daughter inherits her mother's good qualities. . . . It has become the custom for respectable Hindus and Romanists to send their daughters to this School to within a short time of their marriage. Elsewhere it is too common for even good Christian parents to keep their daughters at home from the time they become marriageable, not allowing them even to attend a place of worship. But it is different here; you will see whole families walking in groups to the house of God. . . . We owe this advantage chiefly to the godly example of one family, and the good training (of the women) in their persons, carriage, homes, children, and domestics.'

The development of Girls' Schools in our Eastern fields was far from rapid. During the next six years (1860–66) only two new appointments of this kind were made to India—to Bangalore and Royapettah (Madras) respectively. A lady was also sent to take charge of the Boarding School previously established at Jaffna (North Ceylon). Though dissatisfied with the results of day-school work, the Missionaries could not, unassisted, face the added responsibilities and expense of providing for boarders, and they differed in the question of the expediency of Boarding Schools. From Negapatam, in 1864, Mrs. Robert Stephenson writes:

> Some Missionaries cling strongly to the opinion that Boarding Schools, in which girls are preserved from much evil that pervades their homes, are best; while others hold quite strongly that Day Schools, in which girls are taught the right, and taught to practise it in their proper place in the family, are best. . . . If we wish a good school of any kind [she adds] it must have the superintendence of a good European teacher.

In 1866 John Kilner, then Chairman of the North Ceylon District, drew up a characteristically lucid and telling statement, addressed to the Ladies' Committee, of the need and the scope of women's work for women in India and Ceylon. Dwelling

first on the position of Indian women and their sovereign influence over the family, he goes on to suggest the part which Englishwomen may play in their evangelization. He proposes: '(1) *Open Day Schools for Girls.* Not one here and another a dozen miles away! Open them wherever you can get a dozen children together and a teacher to attend to them. These Girls' Schools will reach several classes of society which we cannot safely ignore: (*a*) The very young children. (*b*) The poor, who need the opportunities for education to be brought near to them. (*c*) Those whose parents are under the power of caste-scruples—who would not allow them to be together in a Boarding School.

'(2) *Open* and KEEP OPEN *in suitable localities Girls' Boarding Schools.* . . . These schools have advantages which the Day Schools have not: (*a*) They take hold of the children just as they have finished their course in the Day Schools, when common usage would no longer allow them to appear abroad. (*b*) They provide a higher type of education for those who wish to secure it for their daughters, enabling the Christian teacher to carry them on through a course of mental and moral culture. (*c*) They meet the wants of those who wish to have their daughters taught without coming into contact with contaminating influences, and who are disposed to pay for such privileges. . . .

'The Native Christians, as they feel their obligations, will not be backward in sustaining an institution from which they derive such palpable advantages. The teachers and Bible-women now in the employ of our Mission were all thus educated; and I do not know how otherwise we can get such agents.' Yet 'the Girls' Boarding School has, within my experience, been *thrice* broken up and closed for months together. Even now it is at the mercy of such stray contributions as the Missionary in charge and his wife may be able to secure, and may soon have to be closed again.[1]

'(3) Another mode of reaching the women of India is the employment of *Christian Bible-women,* whose office it shall be to visit from house to house, so as to reach the adult population.

'This is a very important branch of missionary operations—emphatically the "missing-link" in Mission work. When

[1] A helper was sent from England by the Ladies' Committee in 1861; but she retired three years later, and her place remained unfilled until 1869.

properly trained agents are employed and efficiently superintended, great good must result.

'(4) In connexion with the three modes of operation above named—Girls' Day and Boarding Schools and Native Bible-women—there is one thing I request you to consider (as its importance merits)—the necessity for *Training Institutions*, where by specific instruction and culture women are trained for the offices of teacher, Bible-women, &c. I deem this matter of *training* of the very first importance. We cannot too highly train these women.

'I am persuaded that, if these means of reaching Hindu women were used with energy and persistence, great good would speedily result.'

In conclusion, Mr. Kilner asks whether '*an English lady* should not be entrusted with the working supervision of the agencies,' the necessity for which he has proved; and he proceeds to sketch her functions: (1) She should visit, examine, and superintend the Girls' Day Schools.[1] (2) She might take some part—more or less as occasion dictates—in the domestic oversight of the Girls' Boarding School. All the direct teaching should be given by Native agents. (3) She might take such duties as she was competent for in connexion with the Bible-women, meeting them once a week for conversation and prayer, when she might give them some lesson in common bearing on their duties. (4) She would find a genial sphere for her activity in the Training Institution. Her special work would be to impress her own character on her Hindu[2] sisters, to train them to do for their own people all that she has done for them. (5) She might also be unofficially the medium of report to the Church at home, 'through various Methodist channels.' (6) She might, when opportunity afforded, assist in the production of a vernacular literature for women in India. This would be a precious talent, though late acquired and dearly purchased If such a woman can be found, with adequate education, Christian sympathies, force of character, and self-sacrificing love for Christ, then let her have this grand opportunity of doing good.

[1] Mr. Kilner thoughtfully provides for her enlisting—'for years, perhaps for ever'—the aid of an interpreter in dealing with vernacular studies.

[2] Hindu in the letters of this period is often used as synonymous with 'Indian'; not, according to modern usage, as a religious designation, contrasted with 'Christian' or 'Muhammadan.'

The above memorandum of Mr. Kilner greatly influenced the Ladies' Committee and the Directorate in Bishopsgate ; it laid down, in fact, the main lines of policy that our work for women in the East has followed up to the present time.

The question of the proper type of woman missionary candidate on which Mr. Kilner touched in his closing sentences is often adverted to in the letters of this period. Mrs. Ebenezer Jenkins writes in 1859 from Madras :

> A pious, kind, active, well-formed, patient, cheerful, motherly body, who can cut out and teach needlework, keep house, manage servants, and maintain neatness and order, is far more likely to be happy than a young lady with modern accomplishments.

She is shy of ' the fine Boarding School Miss.' On the other hand, Mrs. Batchelor lays stress on the need for ability to master a difficult language ; she recommends that candidates be advised to read missionary biography, and to form a high tone about their work ; she warns them against unpractical romance, and urges the necessity of a deeply rooted piety.

> The grace of God alone [she observes] can sustain the mind under the depressing and wearing effects of a tropical climate, absence from home and kindred, and the apparent want of success.

Such is the tenour of the communications on the subject from the field. *Unwearable patience* was felt to be the supreme requisite for effective women's work for Christ in India ; desultory enthusiasm, an irritable temper, self-engrossed thoughts, a faith that depends on human encouragement and that ' seeks signs ' to sustain its perseverance—such dispositions ensure a speedy failure. ' People say,' writes Miss Churchward (one of the earliest appointees of the Ladies' Committee), ' that work in India is always beginning, never accomplishing.' But the ' perfect work ' of patience wrought by such workers as she was has borne rich fruit in later days.

During the years 1861–66 no fewer than five appointments were made by the Ladies' Committee to South Africa, three of these being to Colonial Schools (in Natal and at Cape Town), and the other two to Industrial Girls' Schools (at Verulam and Edendale). The former establishments were made self-supporting from the beginning. The need for the multiplication

of institutions of the latter kind, and the struggling efforts of overburdened Missionaries' wives on their behalf, are evinced by many touching letters addressed to the Ladies' Committee in its early days. Mrs. Blencowe writes in 1863 :

> The men (at Edendale) build good houses, but the women do not know how to keep them clean and tidy.

Similarly Mrs. Warner, of Glen Grey, a Kafir location near Queenstown :

> I have known Kafirs, on embracing Christianity and becoming anxious to clothe themselves and their families decently, purchase materials to the value of several head of cattle ; but their wives were utterly unable to make up these articles into clothing, and the stuff has been left to rot in the huts, or else the women have torn it up into lengths, and have wrapped themselves and their children in these strips of cloth as substitutes for their native *karosses*. Others will go from one kraal to another with such materials, until they find someone a little more knowing than themselves, who cuts them out—and spoils them ! The poor men cease to purchase such goods, and buy ready-made clothing for themselves at the exorbitant prices charged by the traders, leaving their wives and children to dress as before. Thus you may see a man walking about nicely clothed ; his Missionary will introduce him as a Local Preacher and Class-leader, and you may think him perfectly civilized. But go into his hut and you are completely disappointed.

This inferior condition of the Christian Kafir women helped to perpetuate the custom of marriage by purchase.

> Time would fail [Mrs. Warner continues] to describe the legion of evils connected with this cruel and vile practice.

In 1863 the Ladies' Committee was able to appoint its first Missionary to Italy—when the English mistress retired in 1873 an Italian lady was forthcoming to take her place. A small Girls' Boarding School was opened at Milan, providing a superior education, which for many years maintained but a struggling existence. The fear of social ostracism deterred parents who would otherwise have chosen Protestant rather than Romanist teaching for their daughters.

In China, where our Mission in the later fifties was making its precarious beginning, Mrs. Piercy, of Canton, herself a former Westminster student, welcomed the formation of the Ladies' Committee. On the news arriving, she wrote (in 1859) a

detailed letter concerning her own work, its possibilities of development, and the help the Committee might give to it. She describes her ' Female Class-meeting ' of four members ; the Bible-class held on Sundays, which ' sometimes twelve or fourteen women attend.' To these two weekly meetings was added, she continues,

> in 1857 a monthly Mothers' Meeting, whose object is ' the improvement of *the family*.' The way to obtain [domestic improvement] is by enlightening the mothers thus, and visiting them at their own homes to see how far they practise what they are taught. The latter I have been able to do but seldom, and so I am persuaded that the work is but half done at present.

In 1857 Mrs. Piercy had also organized a small Dorcas Society to sew for the poor, in which she finds the women much interested. The absence of caste, and the greater freedom and readier initiative of Chinese women, made their sex from the first more accessible to Christian influence, and more apt for assistance in missionary service, than was the case in India.

In 1859 the first Girls' Day School was opened in Canton, with a Native teacher, Mrs. Piercy undertaking daily religious instruction, ' by means of Bible lessons, with occasional added lessons in moral training, and simple object-lessons, teaching also the rudiments of geography and natural history.'

She concludes the letter by ' mentioning some ways in which the Ladies' Committee can aid my work, if they approve of it. First, by undertaking the entire support of the School ; or, short of that, by guaranteeing the support of one or two girls as pupil-teachers, who could in future years have Schools under their care, with or without foreign superintendence.

' Secondly, by sending and supporting a trained teacher, who could gradually enter into the work, and finally take the entire management of it when I shall be removed. A person exclusively devoted to this work could have as important and efficient a School as could be found anywhere, making it a model for those which may be begun by former pupils in and around the city, and in villages farther away.

' Thirdly, by sending out a supply of school apparatus,' the items of which she goes on to specify.

The response to Mrs. Piercy's letter came in the shape of a

grant-in-aid for her School, followed in 1862 by the appointment of an English lady Principal. This completes the account of the distribution made of the scanty means at the disposal of the Ladies' Committee in the first stage of its existence.

In 1868 the Committee had been at work for ten years ; by this date its income had grown to £885. Ten English agents were at work on the field—one at Bangalore, in India (in charge of the English School), one in Honduras, five in South Africa (four of these in the Natal District) ; of the remaining three, two were at Canton, the third in Italy. The three Indian Schools (at Madras, Negapatam, and Tumkur), which for a while enjoyed the care of mistresses appointed from England, had reverted to the superintendence of the resident Missionaries' wives, two of whom had, however, come to India in the service of the Committee. The liability of its agents, after a short term of service, to be married to Missionaries is a chronic embarrassment to the Women's Auxiliary ; at the same time such alliances have often proved greatly in the interest of the general cause.

Toward the end of the sixties a demand sprang up for education on the part of caste girls in India. As in the case of Boarding Schools, the lack of competent teachers was the hindrance to development in this direction. Indian women with even the scantiest qualifications were not to be found. The men available for educational posts were mainly Hindus of the upper castes ; and (to quote James H. Cummings, of Mysore) :

> as our Schools offer but little inducement in either a literary or pecuniary way, our choice of educated men for this work is very limited.

Indeed, the position of master in such a School was deemed derogatory to his profession. Not a few Missionaries questioned the wisdom of admitting non-Christian teachers upon the staff. On the other hand, the Hindu parents took alarm at the introduction of Christian assistants, and withdrew their girls. When Mrs. Dalzell, of Bangalore, proposed the use of daily morning prayer in her School, a number of her pupils were removed, but they afterwards returned.

Despite all difficulties, the growth of public opinion in favour of female education—especially in the state of Mysore—

compelled advance. In 1868 Mr. Cummings writes from Mysore city :

> Female education was thought a little time ago a subject only for ridicule ; now all castes send their girls to compete for the prizes of knowledge. Eighteen months ago we had only one caste Girls' School on the station ; now we have three. Then we could not number a single Brahmin ; now we have Brahmin girls in every School.

Thomas Hodson testifies shortly afterwards : ' The tide of Hindu opinion on the matter of female education has turned completely in our favour.' At Royapettah the caste Girls' School, conducted by a gifted East Indian Minister (Peter J. Evers), almost overshadowed the little Boarding School. Arminius Burgess, the Mission Superintendent of Madras, writes in 1869 : ' In my humble opinion, caste Girls' Schools are the more important of the two ' ; he reports over two hundred caste girls at School on his station alone, *under Christian teachers.* It soon became possible to require fees for the pupils.

*The Occasional Paper* of October, 1869, contains a valuable article on ' Female Education in Heathen Lands ' from the pen of John Walton, of Ceylon, in which, summing up the results of the last ten years' work, he says :

> In India and Ceylon alone there are upwards of a thousand girls in the Schools supported or aided by the Committee. Cases of sound conversion are not wanting ; and school-mistresses and Bible-women, and Christian wives of Catechists, Native Ministers, Government employees, farmers, artisans, traders, as well as of domestic servants, are numbered amongst the precious results.

Referring to the operations of the Ladies' Committee at home, Mr. Walton continues :

> The undertaking was not at first regarded with unanimous favour. But the patient continuance, the accumulated experience, and the blessed results of ten years have given to the work a character with the Connexion, and a strong claim to liberal support.

He urges the formation of a network of Branch Committees in the provincial towns of Methodism, hinting, however, at the danger of ' alarming Circuit authorities or making local Missionary Committees jealous ' by too pronounced demonstrations !

Reverting to the field abroad, Mr. Walton adds :

> The present time is critical. God has set before us an open door in respect to female education. Once the supply was greater than the demand ; respectable parents refused to send their girls to our Schools, because Hindu custom restricts female education to prostitutes. Now the demand vastly exceeds our means of supply ; for India is waking from her sleep of centuries, and asking at our hands instruction for her daughters. . . . Let us give to this enterprise our Christian intelligence, our prayerful sympathy, and our practical support ; and let us resolve that the Committee's income . . . shall be improved by the addition of a cipher !

The first ten years witnessed changes on the London staff of the Committee. Sarah Farmer, the first Home Secretary and editor of the *Quarterly Paper*, passed away in middle life ; scarcely twelve months later her mother, the first President and Treasurer, was taken to her rest. The initiation of the Committee's work, and much of its early success, were due to the influence and devotion of these two distinguished ladies. They were succeeded in office by other members of the same family. Miss Emily Farmer (afterwards Mrs. Farmer-Atkinson) took her sister's place on the Secretariat, while another sister, Mrs. Brames Hall, became President and Treasurer in her stead.

The early seventies saw the work of the Ladies' Committee greatly extended. Colonial Governments were now taking up the cause of popular education. The administration of Ceylon offered grants of money to assist vernacular Schools for girls, and John Kilner writes from Jaffna :

> Very critical our position is at present. We must at once open up Schools wherever we can get thirty girls, or the heathen and the Papists will forestall us.

The educational authorities of Cape Colony, with a view to raising the standard of teaching and equipment in aided Schools, imposed new and burdensome conditions, which the Missionaries were ill able to meet. William Hunter writes from Mount Arthur : ' There are at least four places, many miles apart, at which we ought to have Schools opened immediately ' ; forty children on the average, he reports, would be forthcoming.

> All I ask is (say) £50 a year for a while, till the Schools are well established and the Government is willing to place them on its list, and we cease to need your aid.

Bible-women's work was developing in Canton, Jaffna, Bangalore, and Mysore city. At Tumkur, in the Mysore State, a Native gentleman requests the appointment in his zenana of a Native Christian teacher, for which he is willing to pay. This was the first opening to what has proved a wide and profitable field of service within the Hindu home. The Calcutta District, where our work was put on a permanent footing after the Mutiny (in 1860), pleads for help and receives its first grant for women's work in 1871.

From Hankow there came in 1869 a touching appeal made by the wife of the Chinese Minister (herself a product of the Mission Boarding School), and endorsed in the name of the Synod by Josiah Cox. After the customary greeting, she writes :

> The one urgent business of this letter concerns the women of China. The vast majority of them cannot read, and, being ignorant of letters, they cannot study the sacred Scriptures. . . . It is earnestly to be desired that the little girls of our Church should enter School, and be taught the Holy Scriptures. But although this is in my heart, I am unable to accomplish it. I must, therefore, first, pray for the help of God's Holy Spirit; and secondly, I must beg the matrons and maidens of England to have compassion on the women of China, who dwell in darkness, and to spare some honourable person to come to our land, bearing the true light to enlighten these girls. . . . O ye mothers and sisters of England, do not look on us as a strange and alien people, and so reject us. But as our Lord saved the woman of Samaria, so I beg respectfully to ask the ladies of England to grant a favourable reply, and shall wait for it with eager expectation.

The above plea was at once taken into consideration. The reality of the demand was unquestioned, and the favourable prospect opening in Mid-China was recognized. 'No such prejudice,' it was stated, 'as exists in India against the education of girls is to be found among the Chinese. Impressed with the desirability of taking some action in this matter,' the Committee, was, however, 'deterred by the want of suitable agents and of sufficient means.' In 1873, failing reinforcements from home, the local Mission staff resolved to help themselves; and Mrs. Scarborough started a Girls' School in Hankow on her own account. A similar experiment was made at Wuchang the year after. Both succeeded beyond the most sanguine

hopes. Reporting this beginning, and pleading for the needed help, Mr. Cox writes :

> Agents of the Miss Radcliffe[1] type, with her discretion, sound judgement, strong sympathy, and patient diligence, will surely succeed, despite the cold smiles of some and the incredulity of other friends. . . . We do not think it desirable [he goes on to say] that your agents should be compelled to live with a missionary family. At present, however, that must be the arrangement. . . . My idea is that your teachers, with our worthy wives, should form a Girls' School Committee, administer your funds, and exercise almost full control over this department. The office of the Superintendent will be, I suppose, to encourage, help, and advise both you and them. I do not fear administrative difficulties, if you send godly and competent teachers ; still, if you have definite regulations, do not fail to supply them to us.

Mr. Cox here touches upon delicate questions of jurisdiction and the adjustment of central with local administration, which necessarily arose from the existence of the Ladies' Committee, with its separately appointed and salaried agents at work in the same field, with those of the parent Committee. The mode of organization he forecasts corresponds to that which was afterwards formally established in the Mysore District, where the 'Women's Sub-Committee' of the Synod was entrusted, however, with somewhat wider powers.

Ten years more elapsed before (in 1884) the promised schoolmistress was sent to the Wuchang District. Meantime, the Canton work for women, which had prospered for so long, employing at one time three English ladies in addition to the Missionaries' wives, was grievously checked by being left for six years (1869–74) without regular European supervision. The reason given for this suspension was that hinted at in the letter of Josiah Cox above quoted, viz. the difficulties of residence in China for unmarried foreign women. It was also the case that some Missionaries failed to value their work, and to realize the necessity for it.

In 1873 the income of the Ladies' Committee exceeded £1,600, a sum nearly double the amount raised five years earlier.

Thirty-seven branch associations had been formed, four of these in Ireland and one at Edinburgh. The calls and opportunities abroad had, however, grown faster than the supplies

[1] Catherine Jane Radcliffe served under the Ladies' Committee in Canton from 1866 to 1878.

from home. No new Districts had been added to the Committee's list, but the grants to the Districts already subsidized were increased both in number and amount. One thousand three hundred girls were reported as under instruction at this date in the Indian Districts, in twenty Schools aided by the Society—two of these (at Bangalore) being Boarding Schools, and one (at Royapettah) a Training School for Native helpers.[1] Ceylon was credited with 310 scholars in six principal Schools, and ' many village Day Schools ' besides in the neighbourhood of Jaffna. Jaffna had also its Boarding School, to which a training department was now attached. In China, at Canton, two promising Girls' Day Schools were assisted. The modest fund of the Committee was made to go a long way !

Bible-women now figure in the annual report. Six of these agents were maintained in the Ceylon Missions and two in India. The Association was wisely doing its utmost to develop Native agency. It employed in 1873 six women Missionaries from England, distributed much as they had been five years before.

A brave beginning had been made in South Africa, but the unsettled condition of the Native tribes rendered work amongst women and girls peculiarly uncertain, and Schools hopefully commenced in different quarters suffered disaster again and again from this cause, or through the removal of the Missionary's wife, on whose direction the work had depended. The career of Miss Charlotte E. Beauchamp, who lived and worked among the Pondos for nearly thirty years (1869–96) under the direction of the Ladies' Committee, was unique for length of service in this field. Mrs. William Shaw Davis, the wife of a great Missionary, who had originally served the Committee (as Miss Clayton) at Royapettah, Madras, toiled with heroic perseverance for the education of Kafir women. In 1876 her efforts were rewarded in the establishment of a Girls' Boarding School at Shawbury. No sooner had this been done than her husband was removed perforce to a distant station, and the School was closed after its first quarter. In the course of the next year the Davises were sent back to Shawbury, with the object of restoring the School ; but the failure to secure a competent staff brought on Mrs. Davis an excess of

[1] The Training School was associated with the old Girls' Boarding School, which dates back to the forties and is still flourishing (1913).

labour and anxiety which overtasked her strength. At last, in the early eighties, help was forthcoming from England. The School had now the fairest prospect of success, when a wave of unrest and suspicion, sweeping over Kaffraria from the Transkei to Zululand, emptied it of the Native scholars, and left the English teachers without occupation. Not until ten years later was prosperity secured. This is an example of the troubles besetting the attempts of the Ladies' Auxiliary in Southern Africa during those early days. In 1882 the Conference of South Africa was formed, and, apart from the Transvaal, English Methodism ceased to be responsible for this region.

The demand for Boarding Schools under the direction of trained English teachers was now arising in many quarters; as Missions advanced and Christianity affected family and social life in heathen lands, the education of women became a prime necessity, and the training took continually a wider scope. Our workers in South Ceylon cried out for the institution which North Ceylon already possessed at Jaffna. George Baugh writes from Galle in 1874 and 1878, reporting that hostile agencies are taking advantage of the Government grants offered to encourage the higher education of girls, and that 'our present Schools,' with their inferior teachers, and wanting the equipment and morals of the Boarding School, are becoming 'feeders and supporters of Ritualism, Romanism, and Atheism,' since numbers of the children gathered into our elementary Day Schools pass on from these to the High Schools set up by the Roman Catholic and Buddhist priests. It was not till 1886 that a Methodist Boarding School was established at Galle.

In North India the problem of women's education was even more difficult than in the South; for here Muhammadanism was rife, and in its neighbourhood Hindu women are more rigidly secluded than elsewhere. Albert Fentiman, along with his wife (the former Miss Tregoning, who had taught under the Ladies' Committee in South India), was transferred from Bangalore to Lucknow in 1873. Contrasting the state of things in north and south, they conclude that in the new field zenana work must be relied on for reaching the women and girls. 'Girls' Schools here,' writes Mr. Fentiman,

> are notoriously unsatisfactory, and dreadfully expensive. The children must be carried to the School and back again in closed carriages; and

those allowed to come are such tiny things. . . . Women teachers must be employed, who are far inferior to the men teachers of the south. . . . These and a dozen other things make the work very discouraging to those who have worked in older and more promising fields.

Nevertheless the Fentimans report two Girls' Schools in the city, with twenty-one and fifteen scholars respectively. But there is no prospect of training Native women teachers, and therefore extensive plans for female education cannot be contemplated.

A zenana visitor is at work ;

one of the nicest and most faithful it has been my pleasure to know amongst Native Christian women [writes Mr. Fentiman] ; but she requires European supervision, which it is difficult to give.

In 1876 came a request from the black Republic at Haiti, on the opposite side of the world. The social conditions of this island made a Boarding School for girls peculiarly necessary ; and Mark B. Bird, the able and intrepid Chairman of our Haiti District, had set his heart on this desideratum. Long before land had been acquired for the purpose ; but lack of funds, political uncertainty, and the slackness of the people themselves (who heartily co-operated in similar attempts for their boys) delayed the enterprise, which was not fairly launched until later.

In 1878 a gravely urgent plea of the like tenor came from John Milum on behalf of Lagos, on the West African coast. Dr. Beecham, nearly forty years earlier, had pronounced Girls' Boarding Schools to be indispensable for the Christianization of West African negrodom ; but even now this want could scarcely be met. Mrs. Milum's sister volunteered for Lagos, and was sent out to commence the School, only to return home invalided ; so the scheme for girls' education was laid aside for many years.

The terrible famine of 1876–77 caused a revolution in South Indian missionary plans. This calamity raised the death-rate in Madras for a while to five times the birth-rate. Men and women died of starvation in hundreds by the wayside, after selling for food first their furniture and implements, then the very fabric of their houses. Throughout the famine-area, which extended inland to the Mysore country, compassionate

folk picked up the orphaned or deserted children and gathered them into temporary shelters, where they were fed and nursed. Henry Little, of Karur, bought for this purpose a quantity of the house-timbers thrown upon the market. When at last the autumn monsoon broke and the famine was over, the shortage of oxen and of seed-corn kept the food-prices high, while want and sickness continued to be rife. The charitable funds sent from England helped to save the derelicts, for whose rescue the various Christian Missions taxed themselves to the utmost. Wesleyan Orphanages were formed at seven different centres in the Districts of Madras (including Negapatam) and the Mysore, saving thousands of famine orphans of both sexes. At several of these places a Christian Orphanage or Boarding School already existed, supplying a nucleus for the new institution. The rescued children were largely of low-caste (not out-caste) parentage, belonging to families whose habitual privations made their offspring more enduring under famine conditions, but, despite every care, a large proportion of the little waifs died within the first few weeks. For the residue, now in many hundreds the adopted children of the Mission, the question of permanent maintenance and rearing became one of anxious difficulty. Local State funds were exhausted; charitable aid from the British public ceased with the cessation of the famine. The Missionary Society was faced by a problem of daunting magnitude, but one whose solution held a rich promise.

> Day Schools [writes Josiah Hudson, of the Mysore] are comparatively inexpensive, and our old Boarding Schools were small; but these large Orphanages swallow up everything.

The Women's Auxiliary rendered at this crisis help beyond price.

The close of the second decennium of the Auxiliary's history (1868–78) showed a striking development on all sides of its work.

(1) *Zenana-visiting* had been greatly extended in India and Ceylon; the establishment of Mission Schools, and the friendly relations gradually formed between missionary families and their neighbours, opened in course of time the most exclusive homes to such approach. The deadly ennui of the zenana and the harem makes the face of a kindly woman

visitor welcome when suspicion is once overcome. This precious social service, offered in Christ's name, was rendered mostly by Missionaries' wives and school-teachers in their scanty leisure, and its extent could not be tabulated; but at Madras, Negapatam, Bangalore, and Calcutta, special agents of the Women's Auxiliary were by this date set aside for the office of zenana worker. Jessie Hay, the sister of Mrs. William Burgess, was appointed to similar work in Haidarabad, thanks to a grant of £100 per annum for three years made by the Fernley Trustees[1] for this purpose.

(2) *Boarding Schools*, promoted with the double aim of training Christian helpers for zenana and School, and of forming Native Christian homes, were now being multiplied wherever practicable—in Ceylon, South India, and South Africa. Three of these had been set up in North and one in South Ceylon, on the foundation of earlier Day Schools. A High School for day girls was also in operation at Kandy.

(3) *Orphanages*, on a large scale, had been perforce established in Southern India. Their maintenance was the most pressing need of the moment. The Auxiliary's work in China for the time being had ceased.

(4) The list of Schools supported or aided by the Auxiliary in 1878 showed an increase over that of five years earlier at almost every point. Seven additional Day Schools had been opened in the Mysore District; and help was afforded to the Orphanages at Tumkur and Hassan. In the Madras District two new Day Schools appear in the Royapettah Circuit. An Orphanage had been added to the Day School at Mannargudi, and another founded at Karur. A network of Day Schools was spread over the Mission Circuits in Ceylon. These received Auxiliary grants. *Rome* appeared on the list of beneficiaries; Evening Schools and Mothers' Meeting in that city received small grants-in-aid.

The annual income had increased to £2,150—a growth of more than a third in the quinquennium, but falling short of the growth of visible demand.

By this date 'The Ladies' Committee' was known by a new and more suitable designation; it adopted in 1874 as its title

[1] The Board of the Fernley Trustees provide for the annual delivery of the Fernley Lecture before the Conference. There are surplus moneys at their disposal for other Methodist purposes. The fund from which these contributions are made was established under the will of the late John Fernley, of Manchester and Southport.

'The Ladies' Auxiliary for Female Education,' thus indicating its relation as helper to the Missionary Society, and the principal object to which its aid is devoted. A formal report, with a review of the work of the Auxiliary and a complete analysis of its operations, is now issued in the *Quarterly Paper*. The annual survey of the foreign field became from this time a regular feature of the *Paper*.

## II

## GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY

Mrs. Wiseman—Her Place and Influence on the Committee—A great Career brought to a worthy Close—Meetings to advocate the Work of Women—The Women's Auxiliary at the May Meetings—Development of Work on Mission Fields—Medical Work in Madras and Hankow—Work of Women in India, Burma, and other Fields—Opposition in India—The Jubilee of the Auxiliary—The Death of Mrs. Chubb—The increase of Income for Women's Work.

THE period with which our last chapter closed, while momentous for the work of the Women's Auxiliary abroad, was yet more critical for its management at home. *Mrs. Wiseman* at this juncture appears on the scene; the history of Methodist women's work for Foreign Missions becomes for the next thirty years the history of her administration. She grew in a wonderful way to be, by the ascendancy of her gifts, character, and her intense consecration, the leader of the whole movement, the mother in Christ of our woman-missionary staff.

The wives of the Missionary Secretaries in London had, from the first, been recognized as important members of the Ladies' Committee. Mrs. Elijah Hoole was almost its founder. Consequently, when Luke Holt Wiseman, a widower for some years, in 1874 married Caroline Meta Shum, of Bath, his wife at once took a seat in the council of the 'Ladies' Auxiliary' (as the former 'Ladies' Committee' now styled itself). From girlhood she had been earnestly engaged in the philanthropic work of her native town, as well as in Church duties, and she had served on the local School Board, the first woman to do this in England. Though shrinking from prominence, Mrs. Wiseman was accustomed to think for herself, and not afraid to say what she thought. She had learnt to take broad and practical views of public matters. Her presence quickly made itself felt in the Ladies' Committee, stirring new currents there. The officers of the Auxiliary at that time were the two sisters Mrs. Brames Hall and Mrs. Farmer-Atkinson, daughters of the

former Missionary Treasurer, who had been associated with the Committee from its inception, Mrs. Hoole, enfeebled by advancing years and frail health, along with Mrs. Lidgett and Mrs. Chubb, newly appointed Secretaries.[1] Under the circumstances, and in consequence of the well-deserved predominance which had accrued to the Farmer family through the course of the Auxiliary's work, it was natural that the policy of the Ladies' Committee, and its action in important matters, had come to be determined beforehand in the Gunnersbury circle.[2] The Committee had grown accustomed at its meetings to do little more than register decisions privately made beforehand. Mrs. Wiseman at once perceived and disapproved of this state of things ; her sense of independence protested against endorsing without discussion and reasoned conviction the opinions of others, however sound those opinions might be. 'That is not a proper Committee ; everything is settled outside it. I shall never go to it again,' she said to her husband, as she came to him in the Mission House after one of the ladies' meetings. 'Yes, you will,' he replied, 'and in a short time you will have made another thing altogether of it, and a much larger one.' When, after nine months of married life, Mrs. Wiseman became a widow, these words of her husband came back to her mind, and she felt them to be sacred. Instead of returning to her old home and her familiar work in Bath, she remained in London that she might serve the cause to which he had hoped to see her devoted. How true the prophecy became every Methodist woman knows.

In 1878 Mrs. Hoole's infirm health compelled her retirement from the charge of Foreign Correspondence, and Mrs. Wiseman was appointed to the vacant place. She soon became *the* Secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary. She made its affairs her own, mastering every detail and ramification of the work, laying her time and her powers without reserve at its disposal. During the closing weeks of life, when the worn-out brain failed to respond to appeals on personal matters, she could still discuss with her wonted acumen the problems of the foreign field ; her face and mind lighted up at any reference to missionary topics, or to the names and doings of her helpers

[1] The home staff had been recently increased to four, the offices of Cash and Minute Secretary being no longer united.

[2] Gunnersbury House was Thomas Farmer's residence at Acton, afterwards, and for many years, the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. Farmer-Atkinson.

abroad. This interest from 1876 onwards absorbed her life, and showed itself 'the ruling passion, strong in death.' The rapid and yet prudent and measured development of the Auxiliary, its adoption of specialized agencies and skilled methods abroad and at home, the strong ties of human interest and personal affection woven between the workers on the field and the home staff—these features, which have marked the progress of the Women's Auxiliary through the last generation, bear the stamp of Mrs. Wiseman's genius. Strong in childlike faith and the spirit of prayer which asks and receives the needful blessings from the Father's hand, with clear vision both for principles and facts, and a shrewd insight into human nature, tender and yet bracing in her sympathies, quick in imagination and impulse while she was most exact and patient, endowed with vigorous health and great powers of endurance, with a refined dignity of bearing and manner wholly free from affectation, Mrs. Wiseman united in singular completeness the endowments and qualifications required for the task incumbent upon her.

Mrs. Wiseman's commanding judgement, and the peculiar confidence she attracted from her colleagues, might easily have betrayed her, in dealing with the Committee, into the fault which she had deprecated in the officers of 1874. This error of over-management, the impatience of opposition to which strong and earnest natures in her situation are liable, she studiously avoided; nothing pleased her better than to see some member of Committee intelligently challenge her proposals and counter her arguments.

Mrs. Wiseman supplied to the woman's missionary movement in Methodism the personal leadership and inspiration necessary for its winning its due place amongst the active forces of the Church. Her courage and decision were controlled by womanly gentleness, by the humility that marks the true Christian leader; her confidence was never overweening, and she could be painfully sensible of failure and mistake. She possessed the saving sense of humour, and the good taste and sensibility sometimes lacking in those obsessed by great ideas and consumed by public zeal. She never forgot the individual in the common cause. Mrs. Wiseman took care to know personally the agents of the Society. They were as sisters or daughters to her; she entered into their

diverse temperaments, aptitudes, and situations; they felt the spell of her lovableness, and were able in most cases to correspond with her freely and from the heart. Her skill in dealing with candidates was very noticeable. She drew the best out of them, and encouraged the highest in them; she turned to full account the talents of those who served under her. Morbid sentiments and fanciful woes, slackness and self-indulgence of all kinds, found short shrift at her hands.

> But at the first word of real need [to quote the writer already cited] her whole face changed, and, however busy, she gave herself absolutely for the time to the perplexed or sorrowful soul.

Working, as she did commonly, from half-past eight in the morning to midnight with little pause, she made her house, notwithstanding, a haven of rest to many a wearied Missionary, where the small attentions that count for so much to an invalid were forthcoming without fail.

Mrs. Wiseman took up the rôle of public advocacy, and shone in this as in every other capacity. The Ragged School at Bath had trained her in the art of speech. 'There,' she said, 'I learned to use simple words and to tell stories.' But the duties of the platform were never easy to her, or quite congenial; the service which she rendered in this way was a matter of cost and sacrifice. Even in the days of unimpaired strength and activity, the prospect of an important meeting would oppress her for a week beforehand, and her tremulous nerves often betrayed her as she rose to speak. For years she refused to allow the presence of men at her meetings; she gave way upon this point only when she realized the help her pleading might win from them. Those who listened to her could hardly forget the occasion; she held little children spellbound, and moved strong men to tears. Under Mrs. Wiseman's direction, the Women's Auxiliary took its place among the public functions of the May Missionary Festival in London, and of the Annual Conference Successful women's meetings on behalf of Foreign Missions were organized in the chief Methodist centres, and in many smaller towns. The list of Local Branches of the Auxiliary, which she and her chief assistants or women Missionaries on furlough were accustomed to visit, continually grew, and the Women's Auxiliary became a thoroughly Connexional institution.

The Jubilee of the Auxiliary, in 1908, formed the culminating point of Mrs. Wiseman's course. She had recently made a

laborious tour amongst the Eastern stations, though already at an age when rest is welcome to the most active, taxing her physical endurance to its limits. In the planning of the Jubilee celebration, and in the chief gatherings in London and the provinces, Mrs. Wiseman took the leading part, and filled her place with unflagging zest and energy ; she was the soul of the whole celebration. But from this time her powers rapidly declined, and she devolved, perforce, now this and now that of her beloved duties upon younger shoulders. Her work suffered frequent interruptions, of a nature causing grave anxiety to her friends. She struggled bravely against attacks of pain and weakness which would have utterly disabled almost any one besides, and rallied again and again from sicknesses that threatened to be fatal. At last she realized that the conduct of business had become impossible to her, and the Committee in June, 1912, with sorrowful reluctance, accepted Mrs. Wiseman's resignation of the Foreign Secretaryship. The change was made easier by the fact that some months before she had found an assistant to her mind in Miss Hilda Bradford, who was prepared to carry on the work of the office with little break of continuity. A month later she quietly passed away to her rest, the time of retirement and inaction, so greatly dreaded on her account by those who loved her, proving mercifully short. Mrs. Wiseman had taken office in the Women's Auxiliary at the juncture when the wider interest of the Church in its Foreign Missions began. Notwithstanding, through the thirty-six years of her Secretaryship the Women's Auxiliary made unbroken progress ; its home income multiplied by eightfold, and its agencies increased and spread, as the sequel of this chapter will show, in the like proportion.

Our narrative of the Auxiliary's doings had reached the year 1878, when the South Indian Orphanages were threatening to ' swallow up everything ' in that Mission Field. The solution of the problem was sought in their conversion into Industrial Schools. Mrs. Sawday writes (in 1879) from Tumkur that the famine boys were learning farming and smith's work, and that weaving was shortly to be introduced. The children were thus to be put in the way of a livelihood and the Orphanages in course of time would become self-supporting, while the country would benefit by the inculcation of improved methods of agriculture and

handiwork. Karur and Hassan followed the example of Tumkur. The plan was devised at that time of inducing benevolent people in England to 'adopt' destitute Mission children, providing the £4 or £5 needed annually for the support in each case of their distant charge. The adoptive parents were led to interest themselves in the child's well-being, and to follow its subsequent career. These kindly links between English and Indian life proved beneficial in many ways. The principle of adoption on the part of individual donors was applied afterwards to the maintenance of village Schools and of Bible-women, also to the provision of hospital beds. The Orphanage department originating with the Indian famine strained the resources of the Women's Auxiliary in the later seventies; but it provided a fresh ground of appeal on its behalf.

As Girls' Schools multiplied and experience was gained in the employment of Native assistants, the deficiencies of the latter became more sensibly felt. William Ripley Winston about this time writes from Ceylon pleading for an increased English School staff.

> There are few [he says] even amongst the trained Native teachers, who really comprehend the European idea of education, as involving the whole mental and moral training, as the learning to obey, and the acquiring of the use and control of all the faculties of body and mind.

From the Nizam's dominion, which our Mission was just entering, the first appeal came for a woman doctor who should carry the ministry of healing to the relief of the untold misery hidden in harem and zenana, and bring 'the light of the world' through the suffering body into the darkened mind. This request after a few years the Women's Auxiliary found the means to grant. Dr. Henry Haigh, then a young Missionary in Mysore city, was desirous to see a 'ladies' High-caste School' established in that capital, under European direction—a School more attractive despite its Christianity than any the Hindu gentlemen, who desired such an institution, would be able to form without it. The lady in request must be 'a good Christian and Methodist,' but besides this 'a good musician, and one who possesses a faculty for languages. . . . Whoever comes will need all the common sense, ability, grace, and Christian faith and patience which she possesses.' Mary Margaret Pearson (later Mrs. Henry Gulliford) was the choice of the Committee. Though her

work did not exactly follow the lines anticipated, Miss Pearson gained a unique and abiding influence amongst the ladies of Mysore city.

The above were some of the convincing pleas for advance which met Mrs. Wiseman and the Ladies' Committee in the early days of her Secretariat. In order to meet the cries for increased funds, Mrs. Wiseman in 1880 grafted on the Auxiliary the idea, imported from America, of the 'Busy Bee'; wherever the Auxiliary was in existence, the young ladies and children within reach were invited to form working-parties, employing themselves partly in making articles of use for the Mission children abroad, and partly in producing goods to be sold at home on the Auxiliary's behalf. This plan brought an increase of revenue; what is more, it enlisted for missionary service young recruits, whose attachment was likely to prove lifelong. The following year, 1881, saw the publication of the first regular annual report of the Auxiliary. In 1882 an 'Extension Sub-Committee' was formed—a conspicuous sign of progress. Respecting this the editor of the *Quarterly Paper* writes: 'An impression has long existed that more active measures are needful to develop the Committee's work. . . The grounds of special urgency are':

'(1) That the retrenchments lately found needful by the General Committee throw the support of Female Schools more upon the Ladies' Committee, and in many cases, they cannot be set on foot, or they must be closed, without our help.

'(2) That the public feeling in India has undergone a revulsion on the subject of female education; and whereas before the men derided the idea of teaching *girls*, now that many of these girls have become wives and mothers, and shown what sort of a home can be made by a trained and orderly woman, they call loudly for the education of their girls. Either *we* must undertake it, or *they* will do it, in Schools where the Bible is a forbidden book and where the old heathen superstitions are retained in all their force. Such a School as this has robbed us last year of fifty-one of our best girls in the city of Mysore, because we had no English lady to superintend. That want is now happily met, but we have a similar call from Bangalore, and we hear of others likely soon to be made.

'Such are the pleas necessitating our extension. Now as to modes of operation.' Two principles are strongly laid down:

'Not to work in any Home Circuit without first obtaining the permission, and if possible the co-operation, of the Superintendent; and to take great care not to interfere with the interests of the General Missionary Committee.

'We consider, however, that, as a general rule, where the master of a family gives one or two guineas or more to the General Fund, the mistress would usually give her half-guinea, or one guinea, to our Committee, if she were really aware of the pressing nature of this "Woman's work for women." We are endeavouring, therefore, by means of patient and active collectors, to wait upon these ladies; also to find collectors for monthly and quarterly subscriptions. When the ladies in a Circuit are not working for local purposes, we endeavour to establish working-parties, also "Busy Bees" among the children.'

In these plans for home extension—particularly in the innovation of the 'Easter Offering' which Mrs. Wiseman introduced in 1883, soliciting, through an envelope provided for the purpose, a small gift from each Methodist family on Easter Sunday—Mrs. Everett Green, the distinguished authoress, who had joined the Committee in 1871, was a strong ally. In 1881 this lady succeeded to the post of Minute and Home Secretary to the Auxiliary, bringing to its service all the resources of her social influence, her wide knowledge, and her rare practical ability. The Extension Committee formed at this time consisted largely of the wives of Ministers stationed in London. Thanks to the itinerancy, Mrs. Everett Green, by inspiring a succession of these ladies, was able to spread knowledge and sympathy in regard to the missionary work amongst women through the Connexion. Her influence in subsequent years took effect in many a remote country circle. She had an admirable skill in perceiving and utilizing the possibilities of every associate in the sacred cause.

> Her enterprise, her generosity, her appreciation of the work of others, her gracious way of giving up any plan with which the Committee might not fully agree, were all the outcome of a 'calmly fervent zeal,' of a faith and hope which no check or disappointment could daunt.

Such was the testimony of Miss Lidgett, Mrs. Everett Green's colleague of many years.

Local District Committees of the Auxiliary were formed in

1882 at Bolton, Bristol, Leeds, and Manchester. The burden of home organization was by this means lightened for the Central Committee; with increased responsibility provincial activity was stimulated, and provincial talent brought into exercise. The number of District Committees has since that date considerably grown. In 1885 'the Ladies' Auxiliary for the first time ventured to take its place among the various missionary interests advocated' during the May meetings in London. The experiment, proving entirely successful, became the regular usage. Encouraged in their daring, the Committee two years later dispensed so far with spokes*men* that one of the Secretaries read the report, and two lady speakers occupied the platform. It was an act of courage for those days. Miss Kilner, of Jaffna (Mrs. A. E. Restarick), and Miss Hay, of Secunderabad, were the brave pioneers. The London Conference of 1886 first saw the Ladies' Auxiliary on the programme of Conference celebrations.

Improved organization and wider advocacy bore fruit in a gratifying increase of the staff abroad and the occupation of new posts during the decade beginning in 1879. Women workers were, during this period, sent out by the Ladies' Committee for the first time to Secunderabad (zenana and medical), to Mysore city, to Madras (educational and medical), to Faizabad (afterwards transferred to Lucknow), to Bankura and Dum Dum (later Barrackpur) in the Calcutta District—all these additional stations in India; to Kandy and Point Pedro in Ceylon; Hankow, in Central China, was favoured with three (two medical ladies and one educational); a second helper was given to Batticaloa and to Colombo (medical) in Ceylon; the Girls' Schools in Bangalore (Kanarese) and Tumkur, and, in China, Canton, were reoccupied; at Cape Town, moreover, a Ragged School was taken over for a while. The number of 'supported' and 'assisted' Schools (for which the Auxiliary did not find mistresses) had also largely grown. It now included three Schools in Barcelona. The income for the year (not including grants for passage-money and incidental expenses made by the Parent Society) in 1888 reached a total of £7,500, threefold the amount realized ten years before.

It is to be noted that *India* now takes the premier place formerly occupied by South Africa in the attention of the Auxiliary. The independent South African Conference had

been formed in 1882. This body took over the care of the Girls' Schools and the missioning of the Native women in its own area.

In the Transvaal, which remained under British oversight, specialized women's work was as yet unattempted.

The most striking development of the Auxiliary's foreign policy during the eighties is the addition of *medical work* to its programme. This extension of its scope occasioned the omission from its title, in 1882, of the words ' for Female Education,' the Association defining itself simply as ' The Ladies' Auxiliary of the W.M.M.S.' The new departure was mooted in a letter from William Burgess, of the Haidarabad Mission. His argument was supported by Josiah Cox (by this time invalided home), who bore witness to the successful work of women-practitioners employed by other Missionary Societies in China.

> It is impossible [he declares] to reflect on the waste of human life and the amount of preventable suffering, due (in that vast country) to ignorance, without acknowledging the policy and duty of making our healing art the handmaid of our evangelization, wherever practicable.

As it had been in regard to matters of education, so in contact with disease and physical suffering, Missionaries possessing no qualifications beyond those supplied by their general training and their fund of common sense and compassion, had in numberless instances found themselves obliged to deal with maladies which required high skill. ' A one-eyed man is king amongst the blind ' ; and the puncturing of an abscess, the successful administering of a familiar pill, was enough in Africa or China to establish a reputation, and to bring upon the operator a swarm of pitiable patients, in whose presence protests and disclaimers were in vain ! When the choice lay between the application of such elementary but rational knowledge of the human frame and the common remedies as an ordinary European brought with him, and on the other hand the horrible methods of the devil-priest or the village barber, hesitation to act on the part of the former was hard to justify. Small wonder that, with needs in view so distressful and so widespread, and with such scanty resources, the Committee's first consideration was rather how *little* training might suffice to make a woman competent for their relief rather than how complete an equipment it was desirable to give her.

Professional training, moreover, was costly; and the Medical Schools were slow in opening their doors to women students. The report for 1882 prescribes three years as the minimum period of training—'two years of study, and one year in hospital.' The knowledge and nerve equal to the exercise of surgery in its simpler branches were qualifications for women workers emphasized at this period by Missionaries on the field.

Agnes Palmer, an East Indian lady who had studied medicine in England, was sent out to Madras in 1884, the first medical agent of the Auxiliary.[1] Her qualifications were incomplete; but she found abundant work ready for her hand while under further training at the Madras College of Medicine. For cases beyond her skill, Miss Palmer had the help of Dr. Mary Scharlieb (now, and for many years past, practising in Harley Street, London), who has proved herself both in India and England a devoted friend and valuable adviser of the Missionary Societies in matters pertaining to her profession.

By the following year (1885) Mr. Burgess's request was granted, and a Missionary with some medical knowledge was sent to Secunderabad, where (to quote his words) she found awaiting her 'one of the widest opportunities of doing good that God has ever thrown in the way of any Church.' A few months after this Josiah Cox's long-urged petition was answered, and two women Missionaries sailed for Hankow—one to superintend Girls' Schools and home visitation, the other to commence medical work amongst women. A man medical Missionary had been employed in Central China since 1864. His success made the coming of a woman doctor imperative; for in many of the commonest and severest female maladies Chinese sentiment forbids a man to interpose. The lady sent to Hankow in this capacity, Louisa Sugden, was a woman of exceptional ability and courage, and accomplished great things. She soon required a hospital, where her operative cases might receive the necessary care. The success of individual philanthropy then, as always, involved larger outlay to meet the increased demand and the fresh responsibilities which it

[1] With two temporary exceptions our Mission has hitherto sent only *women* practitioners to India. The Government has formed a Native medical staff, which supplies in some sort the requirements of the male population, but caste etiquette excludes the male physician from the zenana, and forbids Indian women to place themselves in hospitals under his care. On this side, therefore, the need was, and s, extreme.

created. Where was the money to come from to build Miss Sugden's hospital? Even Mrs. Wiseman's faith faltered before this question. For years past she had been praying and appealing on behalf of medical Missions; but the answer to her prayers raised a difficulty that seemed insuperable. One day she was visiting a member of her Society Class who was bed-ridden and poor. The invalid received her with a radiant smile. 'You are going to have your hospital,' she said; 'God has told me so. And look! here is a bit of gold to start it with!' The patient drew from under her pillow a half-sovereign, saved by denying herself the benefit of the doctor's visits, with the hope of sending relief to those in sorer need than her own. Mrs. Wiseman told this story at her meetings up and down the country, with the result that the sufferer's humble coin was multiplied until the requisite funds were gathered, and the Hankow Women's Hospital was erected in the year 1888.

Another sign of progress during those years was the appointment at Madras of a lady Superintendent for a group of caste Girls' Schools in the city. By this means their efficiency was increased, and their Christian character safeguarded. Such an officer is entitled to a Government grant towards her stipend, in the same way as the principal of a Boarding School. Such appointments have been multiplied; frequently the direction of Bible-women is undertaken by the School Superintendent.

The West Indies followed the example of South Africa by setting up their own Conference in 1884; the South Sea Missions had long since passed under Australian control; the Auxiliary had no further responsibility for these areas. Western Africa presented a most deterrent health-record; the early experiment made by the Ladies' Committee in that field had proved unfortunate and discouraging. Meanwhile each new development in eastern Asia brought home with added poignancy the need existing there for every kind of womanly service of Christ's people. The force of this appeal was enhanced by the outcome of Mrs. Wiseman's visitation of India and Ceylon, made in 1888; the impressions she then received coloured her whole subsequent thought and utterance, and through her narration reached the sympathies of multitudes who had never previously understood the conditions of women's life in Oriental society.

As the traveller passed from one station to another, seeing the happiness of the Missionaries in their work, hearing them tell of their successes and their hopes for the future—of prospects clouded by the reflection : ' If only we could afford this,' or ' If only there was some one to follow up that beginning ' or ' to enter that open door ! '—her thoughts reverted to the cultured English homes with which she was familiar. How many bright girls she saw there, growing up with vague longing to serve humanity, with possibilities of heroism in their breast for which scanty outlet was found in lives smothered in comfort and ease ; how many women whose keen sensibilities and motherly instincts were lavished on animal pets or dissipated amid the inanities of the drawing-room and the heated atmosphere of fashionable pleasures ; how many, conscious of powers of management and organization such as her own, who were restive in the narrow circle of a stereotyped household, complete without them. She pictured in Churches that she knew capable workers who, by their very efficiency and eagerness, blocked the way, and were retarding the development of their juniors in service. These and such helpers, who, by a reasonable sacrifice, could be spared at home, she coveted—with their manifold ability, their culture and refinement, their enthusiasm and consecration—to aid Christ's ministry amongst the heathen, which she found overstrained and crippled by the paucity of workers available amid a weltering mass of destitution. She longed to thrust forth into Christ's vineyard these unemployed, or half-employed, labourers, whom He had the right to summon.

On her return to England, after reviewing the immediate needs of the Missions visited, she writes :

I wish I had a scheme for raising £20,000 to propose ; nothing would keep me back from it. Alas, I have not ! But I do believe that if all the praying women of our branches would betake themselves to prayer, we might have a mighty outpouring of the power of the Spirit in India, and a marvellous spirit of liberality in the Churches at home. I should like to suggest a day in which all our Associations may be able to meet together in each town for united prayer, devoting a morning or afternoon to this special purpose.[1] If you ask, ' What do you want ? ' I want our income *doubled at once*. What is £7,000 for India ? Think of what you do for the women of London alone—that is, *for ourselves*—and

[1] October 14, 1889, was the day set apart for this purpose, and it was observed very generally, both in the Associations at home and on the stations abroad, with manifest results for good. From this date it became customary to publish special requests for prayer in the *Quarterly Paper*.

compare it with what we do for these women and girls of India, for whom Christ died as much as for the heathen of England. Do not one whit less in the former direction, but more in the other. . . . I want workers to go forth in twos and threes, either at their own expense or provided for by others. I want every woman in the Methodist Society to be able to feel that she is doing something to help her sisters in India—something to show her gratitude for the Gospel of Christ, which has given her such a position of honour and trust. I want to strengthen the hands of our workers in India, so that they may feel they have our full confidence, and that their tiring labours, self-sacrifice, and self-denial are appreciated by us. May God enable us to put forth as much of the same spirit at home as they do in India.[1]

Mrs. Wiseman's hopes in respect to the enlistment of new helpers for the field were but partially fulfilled. Three years later (1892) she writes :

When I was in India I built many castles in the air. As I went from place to place, and saw old stations abandoned and Mission-houses untenanted, I imagined that on my return I should be able to induce ladies to go out in twos or threes, at their own expense, to work in these villages ; but alas, I have not succeeded. And yet the cry from these far-off places is more frequent and urgent than ever. Two obstacles prevent us from responding as we would. Our funds will not allow of it ; and, further, we have not the workers needed to take advantage of our opportunities for preaching Christ. . . . We have not even teachers enough to supply our vacant posts.

Despite this double shortage, the ten years running from 1888-98 saw the following new stations occupied on behalf of the Women's Auxiliary.

In *West Africa* ; after many appeals an English teacher was sent to Aburi, on the Gold Coast. On her speedily succumbing to fever, her place was filled by Lydia Ellenberger, who, for ten years defying the malignant climate, accomplished a noble work.

In *India* Shemoga (Mysore), Medak (Haidarabad) were occupied, Ikkadu (Madras) and Trichinopoly were supplied with two medicals; posts at Bangalore (Tamil), Tumkur, Madras (Girls' Boarding School), and Negapatam were reoccupied, in several instances after the lapse of many years.

In *Ceylon* the Uva Mission obtained two women workers (one a medical), Badulla three, Matara two.

[1] This was the time of the Missionary Controversy, in which so much obloquy was cast on our workers in that field (see Vol. I., chap vii.).

In *Central China*, under David Hill's auspices, Auxiliary helpers sent to Hanyang, Kuangshi, Wusueh.

In *South Africa* the Shawbury Boarding School was restarted with a lady principal.

The income for the year 1895 was £13,400, again nearly doubling the figure of ten years earlier.

Meanwhile, important developments had taken place in the home staff. In 1888, after serving on the Committee for thirty years with great devotion and ability, Mrs. Brames Hall relinquished the Presidency and Treasurership, to be succeeded by Mrs. John Lidgett, Cash Secretary since 1873. Mrs. Lidgett's office was filled by Miss Farrar, daughter of the late John Farrar, who was twice President and for many years Secretary of the Conference. The growing work of the Committee demanded a more complex organization, and Vice-Presidents were appointed in 1893, Mrs. Everett Green and Mrs. John Walton (wife of the recently retired Missionary Secretary) being the first ladies so designated. On Mrs. Green's lamented death in 1895 her chair was filled by Mrs. Morgan Harvey, wife of the Lay Treasurer of the Missionary Society. In the last-named year also the editorship became a distinct office, devolving upon Miss Walton. The above officers of the Society were all unsalaried. In 1896 the increasing amount of foreign business made a further devolution of labour necessary in the Committee. At the same time plans were formed for extending its home activities. A new Home Secretaryship was accordingly created, to which Miss Anna Maria Hellier was appointed; this office she continues to hold.

Notwithstanding Mrs. Everett Green's mentioned efforts to make the Auxiliary known, and Mrs. Wiseman's effective advocacy throughout the country, it was ascertained that in 1896 there were still three hundred and twenty British Circuits, some of them comparatively wealthy, in which it had no recognition. A decided step had been taken in 1893 in the direction of widening its appeal, when 'Women's' was substituted for 'Ladies'' in the title of the Association, with the purpose, it was said, 'of expressing in a clearer manner the present position and aims of our work.'

In 1896, on the suggestion of Mrs. Chubb, a Conference of Workers was held in connexion with the Central Missionary Anniversary in the Morning Chapel at City Road, preceding

the afternoon and evening meetings of the Auxiliary The officers of the Branch Associations attended this gathering, by invitation, in considerable force ; many of them took part in the discussion that arose. Instructive and stirring papers were read on the various topics of the Society's work and methods. The benefit gained by drawing provincial officers into closer touch with head quarters was so evident that it was determined to hold such re-unions triennially ; and Mrs. Chubb's active mind was set upon devising means to link up the Districts more effectively to the directorate in London. These plans were put in operation six years later.

The years 1888–98 were eventful for missionary women workers in South India. In 1888 a Tamil caste-girl, of Bangalore, named Muttulakshmi, of the age of eighteen, had left her home with a view to baptism. The incident caused intense excitement throughout the city and neighbourhood. Such cases amongst *men* were by this time comparatively common, and had ceased to evoke the violent hostility and the popular disturbances witnessed in earlier days. This was the first instance in the Mysore province of a woman openly breaking with Hinduism, and leaving father and mother ' for the kingdom of heaven's sake.'[1] Muttulakshmi's baptism occasioned nothing less than a panic. For many months the Mission Schools were emptied, and the Bible-women debarred from the houses they had visited. The Hindu society of Bangalore was angered and alarmed to the last degree ; that a *woman* should forsake her gods and her caste was indeed a portent ! The policy to be observed towards converts like Muttulakshmi was anxiously debated amongst Missionaries. It was, in truth, a grave dilemma.

There is a growing tendency [writes William H. J. Picken, the Missionary with whom this Indian girl had taken refuge] to disapprove of the baptism of an individual convert, on the ground that it becomes a hindrance to the work as a whole. It was not without consideration of this principle [he continues] that I acted. I foresaw that the Schools would suffer, and our zenana work would be hindered. I laid it all before the Chairman [Josiah Hudson], and postponed the final step as long as possible. I felt that, humanly speaking, it would be ' wiser ' to refuse to receive the girl or to administer baptism ; but after long and

[1] A similar sensation was caused about three years earlier at Negapatam, where a young Brahman widow, under Christian convictions, had left her relatives to receive baptism, and found protection in the Missionary's house.

prayerful consideration of Matt. x. 34–39 I felt that it was not a matter that could be decided by human wisdom or policy; Christ had taken it out of my hands, and it would not be *right* for us to deny the girl the opportunity of confession which she desired. Of course, this would not apply to a minor; and even in the case of a married woman living with her husband I would not have adopted the same plan. Muttulakshmi was a different position,[1] and my duty to her parents was, I believe, discharged by the communications which I personally made to them, and by the opportunity which I gave them of visiting her.

Similar cases occurred at intervals at many Mission Stations. The Lucknow and Benares District on this account urged the need for a Converts' Home, where women, compelled on their confession of Christ to leave their families, might find refuge, where they might receive instruction for baptism and be taught to earn a livelihood. Flora Macdonald, of Dum Dum, near Calcutta, had at this time three such women housed in a small building on her 'compound.' The propriety of the action taken by the Missionaries in inviting and sheltering these refugees was sharply criticized in England; they were censured in various quarters for enticing women in the name of Christianity to forsake the duties of home, to which God had called them. Miss Macdonald states the rules which guided her as follows:

We are agreed that it is not wise to press the women to leave their homes and children; for, in many instances, if they do not receive baptism their friends are quite willing that they should believe and worship as they please; and if they become true Christians, their influence must be for good; whereas if they leave home, much trouble, and often much disgrace, would be the result. If they should feel called upon to confess Christ in baptism, we should not discourage them; but, on the other hand, we should not press them, unless they are led to desire it themselves.

The leaders of Hinduism had hitherto maintained, for the most part, an attitude of haughty contempt toward missionary efforts; but the signal conversions which took place during the eighties in South India disturbed their complacency. A wave of anti-Christian feeling swept through the country, and a counter-propaganda on behalf of Hinduism was set on foot. The Missionaries were paid the compliment of imitation.

[1] She was married indeed, according to Hindu custom, but still resided in her father's house. She had never been taken home by her husband, who was, in fact, an imbecile. The marriage was nominal, and no wrong was done to him.

Hindu catechists were sent out preaching; Hindu Sunday Schools, as well as Day Schools, were opened; and Hindu tracts were freely distributed. Had the agitators been as ready with their purse as they were with tongue and pen, had they proved as self-sacrificing as they were clamorous and threatening, the effects of their hostility would have been formidable indeed. As things were, Mrs. Cooling writes from Madras, in 1889, that 'there seemed more opposition than ever to all kinds of Christian work,' while Mrs. Little, of Karur, says, in a letter received somewhat later:

> Of all our fifteen years here, this has been the most discouraging. A change has been gradually coming over the people of this town, and I cannot but feel that their attitude to Christianity, and toward us, is not as friendly as it used to be.

In Shemoga (Mysore), where our women's work had been exceptionally hopeful, Miss Beauchamp, on her return from furlough in 1893, meets with strenuous antagonism. 'I have never seen,' she says, 'so great a change in a set of people in six months before.' The defection of nearly all her Brahman pupils compels her to devote herself principally to the village Schools; she contemplates 'leaving the Brahmans to their own efforts, and going to the poor and lowly.' In fact, the result of the Hindu revival was, in more centres than one, to concentrate the attention of Christian teachers upon the out-castes, as the doors of access to the caste people for the time were blocked.

Meanwhile in North India the outlook brightened. An additional agent sent by the Auxiliary to Lucknow made extension possible both in school and zenana work. A great famine desolated the central provinces in 1897, affecting the country north-eastwards up to Calcutta, and southwards as far as the Nizam's dominions. This calamity drew forth a stream of sympathy and gifts from England. Mrs. Wiseman opened a special fund on behalf of the Women's Auxiliary for the relief of the suffering children. As in the southern famine of twenty years earlier, starving waifs were gathered into Orphanages, where Christian nurture reared up men and women who are to-day faithfully serving their Redeemer and His Church in many walks of life. Such Children's Homes were provided at Jabalpur, the head of our isolated Circuit, situated

at the centre of the famine-distress, also at Raniganj, near Calcutta, and at Medak, in the State of Haidarabad.

Central Ceylon attracted much attention during the nineties. The harrowing description sent home by Samuel Langdon of the degraded villagers occupying the valleys of Kandy and Uva touched all hearts. In 1890, while on furlough, Mr. Langdon visited Mrs. Wiseman's Sunday afternoon Bible-class, consisting for the most part of girls earning their own livelihood in business, and there he told his story. The members of the class formed themselves into a union, under the name of,' The Sisters of Uva,' engaging to pray for the work at least once a week, and to give some yearly offering towards the support of a woman worker in the Uva Mission. The circle of ' Sisters ' was soon enlarged, spreading outside Mrs. Wiseman's class, and its contributions went far to support the woman Missionary sent. Rapid advance was made in organization on this field. A medical Mission was commenced at Wellimade ; the village work around Badulla grew and prospered ' at a rate that embarrassed all available resources ' (1895). A lace-making industry was attached to the School at Kandy, with a view to keeping the girls longer under instruction. In 1895 the report laments the difficulty of maintaining village Schools in this District, ' owing to the efforts of the Buddhists to stamp them out, and partly to the lack of female teachers, but especially to the utter indifference of the parents to the education of their girls.'

The development of Industrial Schools formed a notable feature of Auxiliary policy during this decennium ; missionary educators were in the van of progress in this respect. Several experiments of the kind have been previously noted, but many others were made—at Intra, in Italy, for example, and at Secunderabad, in India. The multiplication of Orphanages made this development imperative in many quarters. In some places, industrial training proved an attraction to respectable elder girls, and reconciled parents to their continued attendance at School. In other places the employment thus provided enabled pariah women to add to their wretched earnings, while they worked amid decent surroundings and in a Christian atmosphere. Temper and tongue were checked ; person and dress became more clean and neat ; lessons in infant-management and in the care of

home slipped in by the side of the Bible-story or the simple Christian lyric learnt from the lips of the teacher; the rough, clumsy fingers acquired a new delicacy in handling the needle or the lace-bobbin. Slowly and timidly the buried womanliness of the pariah nature, crushed down by ages of ignominy and brutal labour, began to assert itself under the gentle influence of Christian love and discipline. The transformation effected in some of these women by a few months of the lace-hall or the sewing-school was marvellous.

Mrs. Wiseman's schemes for advance during these years were aided by the munificence of the late Solomon Jevons, of Birmingham. His gifts provided, in several cases, hospitals and dispensaries for the doctors sent out by the Auxiliary. He assisted also in the provision of holiday-homes for the women Missionaries, both in India at Kodai-kanal, and in China at Kuling. Other missionary visions were materialized in bricks and mortar, through the assistance of a cheque from the same generous hand.

The years closing the nineteenth century and opening the twentieth (1898-1908) witnessed a rapid development of the medical work of the Auxiliary in the Far East. Ladies of full competence and equipment began to be forthcoming for the service. In 1895 the Women's Auxiliary sent out its first fully qualified medical practitioner, Ethel Gough, L.S.A.,[1] who was stationed in Hankow. In the same year also Agnes Palmer was transferred from Madras to Ikkadu, where the need for her ministry was more acute than in the city. Occupying at first a single room in the Missionary's house for surgery and dispensary, she began the medical work at the new village centre, which subsequently has developed, under the care of successors more completely furnished, into a hospital establishment, with specialized departments and a range of buildings which draws its patients from a wide area. Already, in 1904, in the skilful hands of Dr. Fanny Wood (now Mrs. Gibbens, of Nagari) the work had outgrown the powers of a single director, and a colleague from England was sent to her help.

The like story might be told of Medak, in the Haidarabad District, where the development has been even more dramatic, and the efficacy of the healing art as an adjunct to the Gospel has been signally demonstrated. At Nizamabad (at first

[1] Now Mrs. W. Rowley, of An-lu (see Vol. V.).

known as Indur) a women's hospital was built by Muhammadan and Hindu gentlemen, who invited the Mission to supply a doctor. This was attempted in 1902 ; not till six years later was the Auxiliary able to make a proper medical appointment to this important post. Meantime a trained nurse proved herself a valuable substitute for the wanting doctor. Dispensaries were started by aid of the Auxiliary at Karim Nagar and Kundi, in the same District. In 1906 the beautiful ' Mary Calvert Holdsworth Memorial Hospital ' was opened in Mysore City, and was well staffed from the first.

In 1899 a doctor was sent to Wuchang (Central China) ; within the next three years a hospital sprang out of her work, largely through the gifts of her personal friends. The untimely death of this gifted and beloved lady checked the work of healing for a time ; but a successor was found in 1906, and the ' Margaret Bennett Hospital ' renewed its activities.

This period saw the work of the Auxiliary carried into Upper Burma, to which the first woman helper was sent in 1899. To Spanish Barcelona also, in 1901, an English woman was appointed, to superintend the work amongst the women and girls carried on in that difficult Mission. Simultaneously, the work which Mrs. Burgess and her sister, Miss Hay, had long ago prosecuted in the zenanas of Haidarabad city and its suburb, Chadarghat, was resumed. About the same time an English Superintendent was put in charge of the Jabalpur Orphanage. At Kalmunai, in North Ceylon, and at Nagari, in the Madras District, medical work was set on foot during the decade. In China the Auxiliary followed the advance into the province of Hunan by appointing an agent to Yungchoufu, while Wuchang, as we have seen, and Suichow, also in the Wuchang District, were provided with lady doctors. In a number of the older stations the female staff was augmented during this decennium. On the other hand, in 1900, owing to untoward circumstances the European worker was withdrawn from Emfundisweni, in Pondoland (South Africa), the scene for so many years of Charlotte Beauchamp's devoted labours,

The sisters of the well-known National Children's Home and Orphanage in 1903, after hearing an appeal from Mrs. Wiseman, associated themselves with the Auxiliary, resolving to send out and maintain on the foreign field one of their number in its service. An additional worker was thus provided for Jaffna,

who was followed by another appointed in the next year to Point Pedro, both to labour amongst Ceylonese Tamils.

The year 1902 was eventful for the home organization. Several of the stronger District Committees proposed to appoint branches of the Women's Auxiliary in neighbouring Churches and Circuits which had not yet been enlisted on its behalf. At the same time the leading provincial Associations were invited to send their representatives to the meetings of the Central Committee in London, it being understood that travelling expenses would be paid for four such attendances in the year. By this latter means it was designed to bring new currents of influence and ability into the Committee at head quarters, and to stimulate the interest of the provinces in operations of the Society. The country delegates, it was anticipated, would carry home, along with the knowledge gained of the Society's actual working, and of the difficulties of administration, sympathies greatly enlarged and deepened, and a more responsible sense, which they would communicate to others, of the need for co-operation in thought and prayer. Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool were the first Districts to qualify for representation, Bolton and Hull acceding to the list in 1908. In 1907 the privilege of sending to London two representatives (one of these to be honorary) was accorded to the District Branch contributing more than £500 yearly—a provision of which Bristol, Manchester, and Leeds were able to avail themselves.

The number of Vice-Presidents was in 1899 increased to three, Lady Chubb taking her place in that capacity beside Mrs. Walton and Mrs. Morgan Harvey. As the office work of the Society increased with the growing range and variety of its operations, further subdivision of labour became necessary. A Secretaryship of 'Busy Bees' and kindred working Associations was now created. Most of the ladies concerned were heads of households, or had other important occupations, and could only give a fraction of their time to the service of the Auxiliary.

In 1904 Miss Morgan Harvey started a 'Shilling League,' for the purpose of banding together Methodist girls of scanty means and leisure who desired to help Foreign Missions according to their power; the annual subscription of a shilling qualified for membership. A large class of useful recruits was

by this means gained for the Auxiliary. With the like aim the 'Baby Band' was formed in 1905, with the double object of winning the sympathy of young mothers for their Eastern sisters, for whom motherhood brings so much preventable suffering, and of conveying to the English nursery stories about other lands of the kind that touch a child's imagination and affections. Children are enrolled in this band up to the age of five, by the payment of half a crown on their account or the annual subscription of sixpence. A pretty card of membership is supplied for the nursery wall.

The Jubilee of the Auxiliary arrived in 1908. A Jubilee Fund was raised, amounting to £27,200, by means of which not a few overtaxed Missionaries were relieved from the disadvantage and injury of working in unwholesome buildings and with inadequate equipment. Part of the above sum was set aside to form the nucleus of a pension fund, which should provide for the old age of women devoting their working days to the Mission,[1] whose salary allowed little or no margin for insurance of this kind. The response made at home and abroad to the Jubilee appeal surpassed the expectations of the Committee, and gave peculiar satisfaction to Mrs. Wiseman, to whose enterprise and enthusiasm, extraordinary in a lady of her advanced years, the success attained was largely due.

The Jubilee was accompanied by an Exhibition, held on May 5 in the Portman Rooms, London, graciously opened by Princess Mary of Teck, mother of the present queen. Lace and drawn-thread work from the Industrial Schools in India and Ceylon, and embroidery from China, were offered for sale in abundance, giving proof of the skilled industry of Mission girls and women in those countries. Yet more touching were the offerings contributed by Mission School-children and by grateful hospital patients, including silver trinkets and brass models bought with money saved from daily food, and handkerchiefs worked on holiday afternoons. Carefully arranged side-shows illustrated the occupation of the Auxiliary workers in foreign lands. Here a Bible-woman was represented visiting a Hindu home; there Miss Harris and Miss Posnett dealt out medicines at the door of a well-stocked dispensary tent;

[1] Out of the total proceeds above stated £3,000, however, were appropriated to rectify the balance of the current yearly account, which had naturally suffered by reason of the Jubilee efforts. The annual income of the Auxiliary had by this date (1908) reached the figure of £19,000, including £830 from the parent Society.

yonder the babel of a Chinese school filled the air. A striking effect was produced by the procession of banners bearing emblems of the different Mission Stations of the Auxiliary, which were carried by girls so aptly presenting, in dress and expression, the countries for which they appeared, that many of the spectators took them for actual Natives! These ensigns were of many colours and sizes, and in material ranged from silk and satin to humble duster-cloth woven on a Mission loom. The banner-bearers marched in file along the room to the sound of music, with their gleaming standards and their Eastern draperies and jewels, each saluting the royal visitor as she passed the platform. The march over, Mrs. Wiseman interpreted the banners one by one, naming each station represented, and recalling some incident or feature of its history. The pageant left on the beholders' memory an ineffaceable impression of the extent and variety and vivid interest of the missionary work of Methodist women in far-off heathen lands.

The committee suffered a heavy loss in 1903 by the death of Mrs. Chubb, 'one of its most enthusiastic, most inspiring, most faithful, most tireless' members. She had held office for a short time only, in the seventies, as Minute Secretary; but from the year 1869 to the end of her life Mrs. Chubb served the Committee and the missionary cause with unqualified devotion. To her persuasion it was largely due that Mrs. Wiseman in the first instance accepted the Foreign Secretaryship; and she played a leading part in subsequent developments. She had an acute and critical mind, and made a conscience of examining acutely the financial statement month by month. She never hesitated to challenge points in it that she considered open to objection. 'I think I may be of some use in the opposition,' she would say. This characteristic led Mrs. Wiseman to repose a peculiar confidence in Mrs. Chubb's judgement. 'I miss her more and more every week,' the former lady wrote shortly after her companion's death.

> We so often took counsel together. I have always been struck by her simple and yet strong faith; it never wavered. What a faithful friend she was. How fearlessly she fought for what she thought to be right, never deterred from the path of duty by the opposition of others!

Another of her intimates said of Mrs. Chubb:

> The impression her vivid personality has left upon me finds no parallel in my memory of many treasured friendships, except in the case

of her father, Thomas Percival Bunting, son of Dr. Bunting. Like him, she had an incisiveness of judgement, often of speech, which gave a piquant flavour to all one's intercourse with her. But, like him, she was so rich in genial qualities, in tender and understanding sympathy, in strong affections and loyalties, in the instinct of helpfulness and untiring, unselfish generosity, that this aspect of her character was paramount.

The five years that have elapsed from the date of the Jubilee to the present time (1913) have witnessed the removal by death of two other leaders of the Women's Auxiliary. A year earlier than Mrs. Wiseman, to whose departure we have already referred, Mrs. John Lidgett was taken from her friends in 1911. This lady had been in the counsels of the Auxiliary from its beginning; her father, John Scott,[1] who was Clerical Treasurer of the Missionary Society for many years, held also the office of Principal of the Westminster Normal College, from which many of the earlier women recruits for the Mission Field were drawn. Mrs. Lidgett for many years exercised, as President of the Women's Auxiliary, a judicial and moderating influence in its affairs.

So long as Mrs. Lidgett was there [said Mrs. Wiseman after her death] I could go ahead, knowing that she would pull me up if need be; now I have to find the caution too!

During Mrs. Lidgett's thirty-seven years of office, first as Cash Secretary, then as President and Treasurer, no important step was taken without her advice. Business ability and sound judgement were in her united with quiet dignity and motherly sympathy, which she extended to all workers in the cause she loved. In her case, as in Mrs. Chubb's, the qualities of the father were reproduced in the daughter.

The work, which had run out in so many directions under Mrs. Wiseman's energetic and inventive leadership, had become far too extensive and too complex for the management of any single person but herself. In later years she had been compelled to depute now this and now that part of her multifarious labours; and new plans were in contemplation at the time of her decease which called for increased secretarial help. Home was, moreover, required in London for Missionaries coming and going, and for candidates on trial or under instruction. Mrs. Wiseman had hitherto made her own home a hostel

[1] Dr. John Scott Lidgett is the son of this excellent lady.

for these purposes; but the numbers to be housed had grown beyond any such private provision. For these and other reasons it became necessary, on Mrs. Wiseman's retirement, to enlarge the home staff of the Auxiliary, and to rearrange its duties—a process going on at the time of writing.

The most recent development in the working of the Auxiliary remains to be noted. Under its direction in various localities there have been formed 'Medical Wants' Associations, to assist in meeting the often heavy expenses incurred by missionary hospitals and dispensaries in providing drugs and therapeutic appliances. In uncivilized lands few of the conveniences of an English sick-room are procurable; and disused apparatus of this nature—down to empty medicine-bottles and linen rags for bandages—comes as treasure-trove to the practitioner in China or India. The gathering and dispatch of this sort of aid—the latter service gladly undertaken by the Auxiliary—have created fresh links of kindness between workers at the front and helpers at home. Poor women, who have appreciated the boon of medical skill themselves, are glad to contribute their quota of safety-pins or disused wrappings, and healed men their discarded crutches or trusses, to be employed for needier sufferers far away. The letters of thanks received for these consignments frequently indicate necessities previously unthought of, which the M.W. Associations with slight trouble are able to supply.

No change of policy has been made, and no new field of labour entered on, by the Women's Auxiliary during the five years since the Jubilee; the Committee has aimed at strengthening and better furnishing its staff on the existing stations. Everywhere in Eastern fields it is felt to be vital that Bible-women and Native teachers should be specifically trained for their work. In different places various plans have been adopted to achieve this purpose. Our Native agents, however rapidly they may improve, must for long be dependent on European instruction; and the stream will not rise above its source. Efficiency is looked for, in a continually higher and more exacting sense, in those sent out as guides and mistresses from the home base. The question of adequate professional training for women Missionaries has now become a matter of critical urgency. Buddhist and Hindu Schools have entered into competition with our own; local Governments are insisting upon higher

standards of teaching and better pedagogic qualifications than formerly obtained, as well as upon improved buildings and scientific appliances. Success and prestige already gained involve responsibilities the discharge of which grows more taxing every year, while the need to which we are ministering is vast beyond measurement and pitiful beyond expression. When to these facts is added the enhanced cost of living in the East, as compared with that of fifty years ago, which affects all our Native helpers and compels them to ask larger stipends than those sufficing for their predecessors, it is clear that even to carry on the existing agencies efficiently an expanding income is indispensable. (The revenue of the Women's Auxiliary has risen since 1908 from £19,000 to £21,000, including £680 from the parent Society, but excluding a sum of more than £1,300 raised by Mrs. Wiseman to extinguish the year's debt.) The advance is gratifying; but it is on a scale insufficient to meet the calls for extension that come from the fields where the Society is at work, on a scale out of all proportion to the opportunities God offers to-day for the ministry of Christian women amongst the heathen. We are *creeping* where we should be striding forward in our work for the mighty peoples of the East ; to the strong appeals now sounding from Africa, West and South, the Auxiliary is compelled in its poverty to turn a deaf ear. Such refusal is distressing, and almost shameful ; the women of Methodism must not allow it to continue.

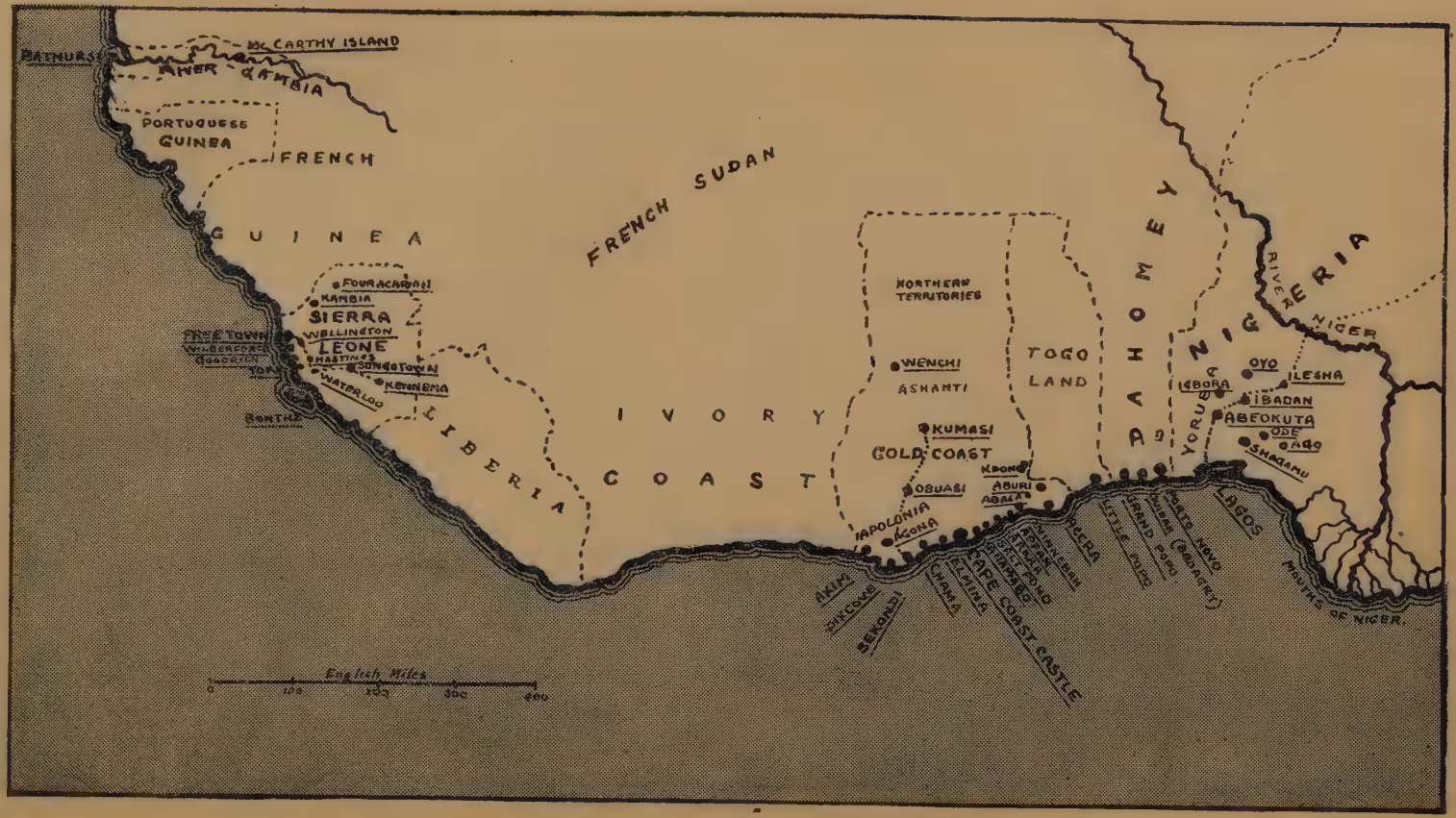
The relations of the Women's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society remain on the footing on which they were originally placed, when the two Missionary Secretaries, after inviting the London Methodist ladies to meet at the Mission House and introducing the business, left them to their own devices. The parent Society furnishes the Auxiliary with office and warehouse-room for its business, at Bishopsgate and in Carlisle Avenue ; it makes considerable provision for the outfit and passage of the ladies sent abroad, and assists towards the plant and appliances required on the field. In all local relations and arrangements the women workers abroad are placed, much as at home, under the direction of the officers and courts of the Church—Circuit Superintendent, Chairman of the District, District Synod. Through these authorities, with whom the Foreign Secretary corresponds, salaries are paid,

reports received, stations and details of work determined. Superintendent and Chairman exercise paternal oversight in regard to the women's work of the Circuit or District, and the welfare of the workers, such as they give to their own junior colleagues. But candidates for the service at home are examined and approved, their training (where this is given) is provided and supervised, their appointment or recall is decided, and their status fixed, by the Women's Auxiliary Committee independently. The Auxiliary selects and controls its own agents, as it raises and administers its own funds. The organization is entirely in the hands of the women of Methodism, and forms an *imperium in imperio*. While the Ladies' Committee is parallel to and works concurrently with the Missionary Society, reporting its meetings and resolutions monthly to the Committee of the latter body, it maintains its own responsibility and freedom side by side with the principal Society, to which it is so important and valued an adjunct. Questions of adjustment in administration have necessarily arisen since women's work on the field has grown to such complexity and touches so many interests, which may call for stricter co-ordination than at present exists; but it is impossible to forecast what shape such adaptation may take.

# PART II

## Missions in West Africa




BATHURST
Mc CARTHY ISLAND
RIVER GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
FRENCH
GUINEA
FRENCH SUDAN
FOURACARIAH
KAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
FREETOWN
WILBERFORCE
GOODRICH
TOM
WILLINGTON
MASTINGS
CONGO TOWN
KISSY
WATERLOO
BONTHE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
NORTHERN TERRITORIES
WENCHI
ASHANTI
KUMASI
GOLD COAST
TOGO LAND
DAHOMEY
YORUBA
KPONG
ABURI
ABAKA
OBUASI
APOLONIA
AGONA
AKIM
AKROMI
SEKONDI
CHAMA
ELMINA
CAPE COAST CASTLE
SENYA
LITTLE POPO
GRAND POPO
AKRA (ADDAGBEY)
LAGOS
MOUTHS OF NIGER
NIGERIA
RIVER NIGER
IBORA
OYO
ILESHA
IBADAN
ABEOKUTA
ODE
AGO
SHAGAMU
English Miles
0
100
200
300
400

# I

## SIERRA LEONE

A Refuge for Slaves—Interest of the Wesleyans—The first Missionary—Eight Months' Service—'The White Man's Grave'—Disheartening Features of the Work—Views and Hopes—John Huddlestone—The Workmen Buried—The Work Carried On—A Government Inspection—Henry Badger—The Bondoo Superstition—Thomas Champness—A Message from Dr. Osborn—Benjamin Tregaskis—The Hut Tax—Matthew Godman—An Apostate—Pagan Reaction—The Modern Period of the Mission—An Official Visit—William Balmer—'A City set on a Hill.'

SIERRA LEONE stands in a commanding situation, where the western coast of Africa breaks its monotony in bending toward the Gulf of Guinea from northward to eastward. The name was conferred on the spot by the early Portuguese navigators, whether owing to some fancied resemblance to a mountain ridge in the mother country, or to the fact that the 'king of beasts' frequented this shore, or to the lion-like roar of the frequent thunder among the mountain-tops. The position is striking and picturesque, a group of mountainous heights being clustered at the mouth of a river of considerable size, and throwing out a bold promontory. It thus forms a safe and capacious harbour, the best on the coast, and supplies a convenient and sheltered site for human habitation, with abundance of fruitful land about it and easy access by land and water to the interior of the country. The shore is for some distance deeply indented by lagoons and river-mouths. The hills, conspicuous from the sea, are covered with rich tropical verdure, and the prospect is one of enchanting beauty; but its charm is belied by a treacherous climate, fertile in the seeds of fever and death. The rainfall is about the heaviest in the year on the whole coast of Africa. The Portuguese made the harbour an entrepôt for the slave-trade, of which they were the originators along the African West Coast. They were ousted by the Dutch in occupation and in trade. By subsequent conquest the shore fell into the hands of the British,

who had already made themselves masters of the River Gambia some 500 miles north-west. When toward the end of the eighteenth century the anti-slavery movement originated in Great Britain and the friends of the Negro began to inquire for a suitable refuge for emancipated slaves, Sierra Leone was fixed upon as the best location for the purpose.

From the year 1762, when Lord Mansfield pronounced the famous sentence which made slavery illegal upon British soil, free Negroes became numerous in London and England. Most of these were brought home by their masters from the West Indies; others escaped from bondage in the British North American Colonies, during and shortly before the War of Independence. The condition of the dark aliens and fugitives was often one of great poverty and wretchedness, and the African Society was formed to effect their relief by transportation to their native soil. Government co-operation was sought in this design, and land was secured for the purpose from chiefs of West Africa, who were friendly toward the plans of the African Society. It was unfortunate that this effort of philanthropy coincided in point of time with the founding of the convict system in New South Wales. The suspicion of the Negroes was aroused by this circumstance, so that in April, 1787, in the end only 400 actually sailed for Sierra Leone, out of the 700 who proposed to go in the first instance. The voyage was also delayed and mismanaged, and the landing at Sierra Leone took place in the rainy season under unhealthy conditions. Half the colonists succumbed to disease at the outset, while in 1789 the Colony was all but burnt down by a Native chief in revenge for some fancied injury.

But the British supporters of the enterprise persevered, undeterred by misfortune, and in 1791 a great reinforcement was forthcoming in the arrival of over 1,100 Blacks dispatched from Nova Scotia, who had been rescued from slavery during the American War (many of them assisting the British troops) and had found the semi-arctic climate of that country intolerable for them. The newcomers were settled on the present site of Freetown; their accession gave the Colony stability and a population adequate to its necessities. They were not, however, the most orderly or manageable of subjects.[1]

[1] This Colony was brought over from America by John Clarkson, R.N., brother

A fresh calamity befell the restored Colony in September, 1794, when it was surprised by a naval squadron dispatched by the French Revolutionists who had lately declared war against England, which treacherously attacked the Native town, committing every kind of havoc and destruction. This piratical work was instigated, it was believed, by the French slave-traders operating at no great distance northwards from the Colony of Freetown, which had now to be rebuilt from its foundations.

A third element in the Negro population was supplied by the Maroons, the old Jamaica slaves, who, after vindicating their liberty, had been removed in large numbers to Nova Scotia. These exiles, along with other Maroons conveyed direct across the Atlantic, were added to the Sierra Leone population.

To this nucleus accessions continued to be made for many years through bringing into this port human cargoes captured by the British cruisers after the abolition of the slave-trade. The prizes were adjudicated and the slaves set free by the Admiralty tribunal, which sat statedly at Sierra Leone. Here the victims, who arrived in hapless and helpless plight, were humanely tended, housed, and trained, and land was assigned to them as need arose and their capacity admitted. In course of time the liberated slave-passengers became the preponderant element amongst Black settlers. To the Colonial troubles of early times in the Colony was added a rebellion of the Negroes imported from Nova Scotia, who were abetted by some of the Timmanees of the neighbouring shores, and were finally suppressed by aid of the loyal Maroons. These disturbances lasted from 1799 to 1802. In 1800 a Royal Charter was granted to the Colony, and its management was subsequently transferred to the British Colonial Office from the African Society, the founders of the Colony, which had previously subordinated commercial to benevolent interests and found itself in pecuniary as well as political difficulties. Amongst the directors were William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, Henry Thornton, and many of the leading anti-slavery leaders. Zachary Macaulay, father of the cele-

of Thomas Clarkson, the English leader of the Abolitionist Movement and friend of William Wilberforce, who was the first Governor of the Sierra Leone Colony. The *Journal* of his Governorship is printed in Bishop E. G. Ingham's *Sierra Leone After a Hundred Years*, and is a noble picture of high principle and self-devotion.

brated historian, was for a while resident Governor of the Colony.

The Methodist people in England were much interested in the Sierra Leone experiment, especially John Wesley and Thomas Coke, the chief adviser and leader of the Foreign Missionary plans of Methodism. Amongst the Nova Scotian colonists were Methodists,[1] who wrote to Dr. Coke soon after their arrival asking him to find them schoolmasters. The African Society supported their request, with a rather wider aim, and Dr. Coke complied by sending out in 1795 to accompany Governor Macaulay a party of selected mechanics and Methodist Local Preachers, to be employed as teachers amongst the Foulah tribes[2] in the neighbourhood of the Colony, who had requested such assistance. Their professed object was ' to instruct the people in domestic arts, inculcating piety by their example, and occasionally to preach the Gospel of Christ.' The persons chosen, though Methodists, proved, however, to be quite unworthy ; whatever missionary purpose or spirit they had evaporated during the voyage. On landing they refused, with one exception, to go into the interior, and repudiated their engagement. They had taken wives with them, who wholly declined the enterprise ; their general conduct was most unsatisfactory. This failure brought on Dr. Coke extreme disappointment, and left him, as he says, ' bleeding at every pore.'

The Conference of 1796 appointed ' two Missionaries ' for Africa notwithstanding this failure, viz. Archibald Murdoch and William Patten, with the following note on the subject :

> Dr. Coke laid before the Conference an account of the failure of the Colony intended to be established in the Foulah country in Africa, and, after prayer and mature consideration, the Conference unanimously judged that trial should be made in that part of Africa on the proper missionary plan.

But nothing came of this resolution for the present. The two brethren mentioned were stationed respectively in Tortola and Ireland ; and Africa did not figure again in the stations until 1808, when it was stated :

> Sierra Leone.—A Preacher is to be sent as soon as the General Superintendent and Committee can find a suitable person.

[1] The number of members of Society reported in the year 1792 was 223. This was the first return made.

[2] See chapter ii.

Such a person was found and dispatched three years later. Earlier Dr. Coke had received letters from a Methodist Class-leader at Sierra Leone named Joseph Brown, who reports forty members in the Methodist Society there, for whom a regular Minister is urgently needed. Such a Missionary, it was said, would have opportunity of wide and fruitful work. A second chapel was in course of erection by the Methodist flock in the Colony, which had raised several Local Preachers and a couple of Class-leaders from amongst the Nova Scotian immigrants. Many of the Maroons had also been converted to God by the year 1808, and the Society by this date numbered 100.

In the winter of 1810 Dr. Coke found the right man for Sierra Leone. This was George Warren, then travelling in the Helston Circuit, Cornwall. 'For a long time his mind had been deeply impressed with a persuasion that it was his duty to visit Africa.' A few months later three pious young men presented themselves from the Dewsbury Circuit, willing to be sent as schoolmasters to the same Colony These were named Raynar, Healey, and Hirst, the two former being Local Preachers; the first of the three, Jonathan Raynar, at a later time served for several years as a valuable Missionary in the West Indies. The four sailed together from Liverpool in September, 1811, and landed, after a narrow escape from a French privateer, on November 12.

George Warren heads the long succession of Missionaries who have laid down their lives for Sierra Leone. He died on July 23, 1812, after a residence of little more than eight months. Raynar, the schoolmaster, returned to England about the same date in crippled health, and after a short rest was transferred to the West Indies. His two companions remained at Sierra Leone for some time later, doing their best to fill the place left empty by the Missionary's death. This band of teachers proved as faithful as those had proved unfaithful whom Dr. Coke had selected for the Foulah enterprise nearly twenty years before.

For the year 1814 Sierra Leone stood vacant in the *Minutes* of Conference; but during the winter the blank was filled by the appointment of William Davies, a Welsh Preacher stationed in London, who arrived with his wife in February, 1815, and found Messrs. Healey and Hirst there to meet them. Sir

Charles Macarthy, the excellent Governor of the Colony, who had built a large schoolroom for the use of the Mission, showed great attention and kindness to Mr. and Mrs. Davies, the latter of whom was a superior teacher, and promised to be very useful in the Colony. She lived, however, only ten months, and was the first woman Missionary to fall in West Africa, her death being universally lamented. On his wife's death Davies went to reside for a while with the Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. L. Butscher, his intimate friend. It so happened that Mrs. Butscher was a member of the Methodist Society. Such associations between Wesleyan and Church Missionaries were common in early times on the West Coast. The men realized that they were God's fellow workmen, and allowed no sectarian prejudice to stand between them. As Mr. Davies relates :

> When I administer the Sacrament in our chapel, I give the bread and he the wine ; and once in the quarter all our people go to church, and he gives the bread and I the wine.

The Colonial Governor, moreover, assiduously visited both the schools, and attended once when the two Ministers together baptized a hundred and five kidnapped children, who, dressed in clean clothes, bore their new names labelled on their necks. Sir Charles Macarthy now and then accompanied the Wesleyan Missionary on his preachings, and took his turn in the public addresses. Early in 1817 Samuel and Mrs. Brown joined Mr. Davies at Sierra Leone. They were attacked by the seasoning fever in a few months, and Davies a second time along with them ; the clergyman, Mr. Butscher, had been struck down a short while before. Mrs. Brown lingered until the end of July, when she died, and was buried in Mrs. Davies' grave.

Davies and Brown both recovered, but only to return homewards, the former in 1818, the latter in 1819. Samuel Brown found a new sphere at Nevis, in the West Indies, where he laboured fruitfully for several years, and subsequently in the home work. The Missionary Committee did not forsake Sierra Leone, despite its frequent fatalities. A couple of promising young Missionaries, named Baker and Gillison, were sent to fill the vacancies. Gillison was struck down after six months in the country, dying in August, and Baker suffered from chronic sickness. He reports, however, in 1821

the roll of Church members increased to 470, and himself working on in excellent heart.

Missionaries continued to arrive on the coast. About the date last mentioned, Mr. and Mrs. Huddlestone landed to assist Mr. Baker, and George Lane followed two or three months later. Having two younger colleagues, John Baker was now able to visit the Gambia, and formed the initial plans for the Mission there. At this juncture he writes :

> The best of all is, God is truly with us. We have the greatest outpouring of the Spirit I have ever yet witnessed. . . . Within the last three months the work has increased rapidly . . . like the noise in the camp of the Philistines. All my sleepless nights, all my burning fevers, all my severe conflicts, all my agonizing pains—all put together and heaped up—seem no more than dust in the balance when compared with this work. . . . I go on as God helps me, preaching with all my might a present and full salvation. I am quite worn out with labour, and am a standing miracle to all who know my work and what I have suffered. But I thank God I do it cheerfully. I bless God I ever came to Africa.

Under Baker's powerful ministry and the extraordinary awakening that came to the Sierra Leone Black people in 1821, the mother Church formed in this Colony had now been multiplied to nearly 500 souls, a very satisfactory record for ten years' work, broken by a succession of distressing illnesses and deaths amongst the Missionaries such as no Mission-field had ever witnessed before. The West Coast of Africa had already earned the name of ' The White Man's Grave,' and it was only too evident that if this shore was to be won for Christ, and if Methodist Missionaries should continue to devote themselves to the reclamation of the liberated Negro slaves, the task would involve a terrible loss of life.

Baker's course in Africa was, however, run ; he was spent with labour and consumed with burning fever ; and as soon as a successor arrived for him he sailed home, after achieving a memorable work for God, in the winter of 1822. For a short time he laboured in the West Indies, then in British America, but was compelled in the end to return home to England. There he finished his course, with joy and honour, in the year 1845. William Bell was another fine, strong man destined to succumb to the pestilential climate. His days numbered only forty-six from disembarking at Bathurst to

the hour of his 'landing in a nobler clime.' He died before Mr. Baker removed from Sierra Leone, leaving Huddlestone and Lane at that station and Morgan alone at the Gambia River. Huddlestone parted with Lane on account of Morgan's lonely condition; when Lane returned to head quarters later, yellow fever fastened upon him, and he died in the middle of summer. He had hardly passed away when John Huddlestone, seized with the same epidemic, which was specially fatal at that season, yielded up his life, and the Sierra Leone Society was again left shepherdless. Mrs. Huddlestone was able to return to England. Two new chapels of considerable size were built about this time—the Maroon chapel in the town and the Portuguese Town chapel in what was then an outlying suburb. The stay of Missionaries in the Colony was now officially limited to two years of continuous residence.

Sierra Leone had its vacancies filled without delay by the arrival of William Piggott[1] and Henry T. Harte, who landed somewhat later in the same year. Death quickly took his toll of the last arrivals, for Mr. Harte died before the end of the same year, and Piggott was left the solitary Missionary at Sierra Leone.

In 1826 three recruits came out to West Africa—Samuel Dawson, who was married, John Courties, and John May. Mr. and Mrs. Dawson, for the Gambia, were sent round by way of Sierra Leone. The arrival of the two others at Sierra Leone enabled Piggott, who had borne two years of the climate, to return to England, where he remained. For the short time of his missionary course he was remarkably efficient. About this period several Muhammadan converts were gained at Sierra Leone; Piggott had the joy of receiving them into the Church.

The treacherous climate made the West Coast Mission a continual scene of coming and going for the men employed, who 'by reason of death' were forbidden to gather long experience of the country and people, or familiarity with the Native speech. Preaching and other ministry was carried on in a sort of 'pidgin-English,' which served fairly well for some purposes, but had not the power and expressiveness of a

[1] William Piggott was the father of Henry James Piggott, the distinguished founder of our Italian Mission, and the grandfather of William Charter Piggott, who became minister of Bunyan's Baptist Chapel, Bedford, and subsequently of Whitefield's Tabernacle, London.

Native vernacular, and could never open 'the door of faith' to the Negro tribes who thronged around the Colony and who lived a life aloof from the freedmen under British protection.

These two classes of population were growing up foreigners to one another; alienations and jealousies were rife between them. In the Colony itself there were racial divisions, whose differences generated feuds and caste prejudices, often of a bitter nature. The Nova Scotians and Maroons, the original nucleus of the settlement, looked down upon the later arrivals, who had come by shiploads—helpless novices, ignorant and fearful in the extreme, often at first in a state of desperate sickness and physical misery. The more settled and experienced Negro folk looked down with contempt as well as compassion on these black brothers, Natives of every tribe on the Western Coast, who imported with them numberless vices and superstitions. For many years the British cruisers brought in week by week new prizes over the harbour-bar, and released fresh cargoes of heathenism and barbarism. The work of the Church was constantly to do afresh. Incessant vigilance and incredible care and patience were necessary to maintain pure discipline and keep down noxious weeds where the soil was already rank with seeds of bitterness, and where a new stock of poison was being thrown out incessantly and heathen infection in its full force was breathed on natures still at the height of their susceptibility. This perpetual renewal of the Missionary's and the schoolmaster's work at Sierra Leone was its wearying and disheartening feature. And it soon appeared that the Society could scarcely expect to do much beyond winning for Christ a certain number of the emancipated Negroes; little was to be accomplished through their aid in the near future in the way of affecting the Native heathen folk, who must be appealed to on their own ground and through the medium of their mother-tongue. The freed slaves remained utter strangers to the inhabitants of the shore where they were landed; their black hue did little or nothing to commend the new faith to their neighbours. Whatever success our Missionaries had with the Salleonians (Sierra-Leoneans) themselves, it became evident that their conversion would not directly help us far toward the winning of Negro Africa. The liberated Africans lodged at Sierra Leone formed an *enclave* by themselves, who might be thankful to receive

the Gospel for themselves through European hands, but whose gratitude went little farther, and who had small idea of constituting themselves a missionary clan and being vehicles of Christ to their fellow countrymen. In this respect the Sierra Leone enterprise proved somewhat of a disappointment. King Tom, indeed, the chief of the Timmanees, who originally sold to the founders of the Colony the ground on which it was settled, remained a firm friend of the Mission and did many kind turns to the freedmen, new and old. He was now a venerable centenarian, much respected by Europeans and Government servants as well as by the black people. There had been trouble in the very early years between the Timmanees and the Colonials, but these disturbed relations had soon passed away, and for many years, under Sir Charles McCarthy, the political sky had been serene, and there had been conflict only between the British and the slave-traders —Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Brazilian—who haunted the coast, or occasionally against the African slave-kingdoms, such as Ashanti and Dahomey, who maintained ferocious customs and opposed the mild policy Great Britain had inaugurated on the coast.

An eloquent passage in the yearly report of the Society, from Richard Watson's pen, indicates the views and hopes formed in England in the later twenties concerning the Sierra Leone Mission :

> A scene more delightful to humanity is scarcely exhibited through the vast extent of the missionary field than the Colony of Sierra Leone, a port whose commerce had been for ages the flesh and bones of men—and these their brethren—now opening its friendly shores and extending its protection and care to those unhappy Negroes who, seized by their own oppressive governments and purchased by the avarice of Europeans, have been arrested on their voyage by British cruisers and liberated from their floating prisons. But these triumphs of hallowed power and Christian justice are surmounted by the triumphs of religion. Among these pagan Negroes Missionaries have most successfully taught the principles of Christianity ; and many interesting Societies of true Christians have been raised up among a people who, by overruling providence, have been rescued from slavery and brought within a Christian Colony. What the ultimate results may be on the spread of religion in Africa cannot well be estimated ; but the effects must be great. The light will not be confined to Sierra Leone ; those who have obtained mercy will not hide this truth in their hearts ; and into these various and distant regions where their affairs may guide them they will carry the name and the truth of Christ.

In fact, the Mission was confident that the light of freedom and Divine salvation shining forth from this harbour was destined to carry its illumination far into the depths of heathen Africa, and to reveal the new day of Christ to the perishing nations of a whole continent.

A new batch of Missionaries appeared in 1828—Messrs. Munro and Peck appointed to the station, and Mr. and Mrs. Richard Marshall supplying the vacancy at the Gambia. Courties and May were upon the ground at Sierra Leone. Alas! within the year all the six had disappeared. May had fallen six weeks before the newcomers landed. Courties did not long survive his companion. He was debilitated when the new men arrived, and, sailing for home immediately in his feeble condition, he died after a few days on shipboard, on February 4, 1829.

The death of Mr. Huddlestone terminated a painful situation in the Sierra Leone Society. The two Missionaries stationed there did not see eye to eye, and the Superintendent had offended many of the Leaders and older members of Society. He and the trustees of one or more of the chapels had fallen out, and scandal and strife resulted. Expulsions from the Classes took place, and more than once the affairs of the Methodist Church were brought before the Governor of the Colony for settlement. The large increase the Church witnessed under John Baker's arousing ministry was turned into a lamentable diminution. There was, in fact, rebellion and schism under Huddlestone's administration, which may be ascribed partly to his attempt to draw the reins of discipline tighter, but chiefly to the stubborn independence of the original Nova Scotian stock of the Colony, who were from the beginning intractable towards British rule. These people brought Methodism with them from America, and invited the first Methodist Preacher from London in 1811; they had their own chapel and Society when he arrived, and were tempted to regard him somewhat as their servant, bound to take orders from them. A conflict of authority arose, which for some time threw the work of the Mission into confusion and threatened its destruction. Huddlestone became very unpopular with an influential part of the local Church; he would certainly appear to have been wanting in the more winning features of the Missionary's character, and ruled his

sable flock with a high hand.[1] His conscientious vigour and keen oversight were unmistakable. Lane, in the later weeks of his life, joined Morgan on the Gambia Circuit for the sake of a more peaceful berth, reporting himself harassed to weariness by the quarrels and agitations distracting the older Mission at that time. Probably both Lane's and Huddlestone's deaths were hastened by these troubles, which came to an end with the present missionary régime.

William Piggott's excellent spirit and management restored the good feeling and brotherly temper that had prevailed in this Mission, and the work of God gradually revived once more. Chapels and schools were multiplied; as the released slave-captives increased in number they were taken in hand by the Missionaries and Methodist Leaders and brought under instruction and humanized; their children were drafted into the Mission schools, and a new generation was springing up in which the offspring of the liberated slaves of the coast outnumbered the original immigrants of the Colony, and the Sierra Leone settlement assumed its permanent character as a Colony sprung from the general stock of Negro life, with the characteristics of its several tribes indistinguishably blended and a composite race produced—nowhere racy of the soil, but one in which the traits and aptitudes common to the Negro nature are strongly developed and the Black man asserts himself in his representative and full-blooded character.

Now that the Colony had flourished some forty years it began to take a settled place in the neighbouring Native population. The country people of the neighbouring tribes—Jollofs, Mandingos, Foulahs, Mendis, Kroomen or Grebos—were becoming more familiar with the Colonists and with the ways of British rulers. Many of these people were settling down and finding some employment amongst the immigrants and picking up the arts of civilized life. The boundaries of the Colony were gradually extended, and the Sierra Leone Protectorate was being formed. Relations were formed with bordering powers; new missionary openings came into sight; the visits of Native chiefs and merchants from the interior, and from trading ports along the coast, led to numerous

[1] The Nova Scotian Leaders, now experienced seniors in Church Administration, may well have found the ways of a succession of young Preachers set over them, with almost unchecked power, now and then very trying. These men were, after all, the fathers of Sierra Leone Methodism.

inquiries for aid in the way of schools and missionary stations. Sierra Leone was a cynosure along the coast, a conspicuous advertisement of British adventure and Christian benevolence. Although the work had its fluctuations, its occasions of discouragements and aspects of unloveliness, there was at all times a glow and eagerness about the Mission which forbade those engaged in it to be listless or weary. The sudden and frequent deaths befalling so many of its leaders in the mid-course of their work were singularly happy, leaving behind, for the most part, feelings of admiration and thankfulness in the survivors.

The latest arrivals, Messrs. Munro and Rowland Peck, succumbed to yellow fever almost simultaneously, in July, 1829. This dispensation, coming so soon after the death of May and Courties, dismayed both the Mission on the spot and the Missionary Committee at home; people asked whether it was possible to continue the West African Mission, whether the Church could afford this relentless drain on its best and most devoted life. On the station itself the loss had an unexpected effect, illustrating favourably the Negro character. The two last-deceased Missionaries were men peculiarly beloved, and some of the Nova Scotian seceders, who had given Mr. Huddlestone the most trouble a few years before, were now filled with remorse; they returned to the Society penitent for their insubordination, and continued afterwards loyal and affectionate helpers to their Ministers.

John Keightley, Rowland Peck's fellow townsman and friend, volunteered to fill his place, and arrived at Sierra Leone by the end of January, 1830. He reports that the chapels had been kept open regularly for the six months since the death of the two lamented Ministers, and his own first public act was to administer the Lord's Supper to 200 Methodist communicants in the Maroon chapel.

William Ritchie joined John Keightley at Sierra Leone at the beginning of 1833. Like several of his predecessors, he migrated to the West Indies after his two years' service. He rendered some years of useful missionary labour there. The Sierra Leone Society appears to have been peaceful and flourishing at this period. Ritchie reports the number of full members as 419, with 63 on trial, and speaks of repeated applications from distant parts of the Colony for the appointment

of new labourers in the field. 'The Africans,' he writes, 'have a high opinion both of the good intentions of the Missionaries and the discipline they enforce.' Edward Maer had been sent out to fill the place of Keightley, and Isaac Clarke replaced Ritchie on his removal to the West Indies shortly after. In the winter of 1832–33, the death of Secretaries Richard Watson and John James distressed the whole Missionary Society, and left John Beecham for a time in sole charge of the foreign stations.

Meanwhile the Sierra Leone Mission steadily advanced. The little suburban towns of Wellington, Wilberforce, Lumley, and Murray, which had sprung up around Freetown, were now embraced in the Mission Circuit, which had an efficient and comparatively numerous staff of Local Preachers and Class-leaders.

About this date a contention between the Minister and trustees led to a rupture over the Maroon chapel at Sierra Leone, which ended by the Superintendent marching out, after a closing sermon from the text: 'Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.' It was too evident that the seeds of dissension remained from Huddlestone's time. Edward Maer had been joined at Sierra Leone by Benjamin Crosby, but in the three months that followed the Missionaries Maer, Crosby, and Patterson were swept off in turn by yellow fever. Edward Maer was buried at sea. He sailed for England, seemingly in good health, after braving for six years the perils of the climate and the trials of a most laborious course, when a few days of the deadly malady proved fatal. Maer was a strong, fearless, self-denying man, whose ministry commanded deep respect from the people. Fox said of him that with a giant's strength he had 'done a giant's work' at Sierra Leone. Crosby was a Lincolnshire Methodist, a worthy companion of John Hunt, whose work was cut short in the third year of his ministry and the twenty-ninth of his age, not without his seeing a rich measure of fruit. Richard Patterson fell in the same epidemic, seven months after landing, his wife alone being spared to see England again. Here, at two stations, were four valued Missionaries, and two of their wives, falling victims to the climate almost at one stroke. It seemed as though 'the gates of death' must 'prevail' against the Church along this coast. The Church Missionary Society suffered

in its representatives as disastrously as ourselves; we had to mourn our losses bitterly and frequently, as our companions did theirs.

The ravages of death ended as they began on the Gold Coast. George Wrigley was not to be spared. He fell in November of the fatal year, nine months after his wife and his colleague, having lived long enough to win gratitude and reverence on all hands. His funeral was recalled as the most affecting ever witnessed on that shore. William Fox now stood alone on the Gambia, and William Sanders at Sierra Leone, the two European Missionaries left alive out of nine who had manned the coast for the Methodist Society at the beginning of 1837. The number of members in Society had by this time mounted at Sierra Leone to a total of 1,337; at St. Mary's, Bathurst, were found 386; at Macarthy's Island, 173; at Cape Coast, 428—an increase on the whole of 515 in this year of death and mourning. The schools at the several stations reported 1,495 children under instruction, 1,134 of these belonging to Sierra Leone.

Before the year ended Thomas and Mrs. Dove, who had enjoyed a welcome furlough after three years' labour on Macarthy's Island, took up the work at Sierra Leone, where Sanders was now much overtasked and weakened. A valuable recruit came with them in the person of Henry Badger. His wife was also a notable person, the widow of Edmund Gordon, who died at St. Kitts, in the West Indies. After his death the widow went out as a volunteer teacher to Sierra Leone. Before long she married Mr. Badger, to whom she proved a help-mate of incomparable worth. She was a teacher of genius, and placed the instruction of Negro girls in this Mission upon a greatly improved footing.

For the present the Missionary Districts were imperfectly differentiated. Sierra Leone was still the head quarters of the whole work, while the Gambia and Gold Coast had their own administrations. From time to time, when Missionaries of distant stations died or were disabled, their places had to be filled and their work carried on from the central Mission. Under like circumstances the outlying Districts had occasionally—as the Gambia at the present time—to borrow their Chairman from Sierra Leone.

Further losses and accidents that befell the Gambia staff

and its broadening work at this period will be narrated in the chapter belonging to that Mission; we will confine ourselves for the present to the course of events at Sierra Leone. Henry Fleet landed there on May 30, 1839. His wife had died on the voyage out, and the loss proved fatal to himself. She had a stormy and calamitous passage, which proved too much for her strength; and Mr. Fleet, arriving in a shaken state, succumbed to the 'seasoning fever,' which did not spare him. Still the mournful succession of sacrifices continued. The death of Henry Fleet, who was barely permitted to see the land of his desire, was followed by that of David Jehu, a young man fresh from England, who passed away in July, 1840, after six months of diligent and hopeful application.

Other losses, no less sorrowful, befell the Missions at the Gambia and Cape Coast Castle, right and left, but Messrs. Dove and Badger at Sierra Leone were spared, and bore their heavy burdens bravely and skilfully. At this time a company of freed Negroes of the Aku tribe, members of the Methodist Society, purchased an old slave-ship, and proceeded to Badagry, a former lair of the slavers beyond Cape Coast Castle, situated on the border of their Native country not far from Lagos, where they now found a home. (The coast was becoming safer and freer from slave-piracy as the police work of the British cruisers increased in effectiveness.) One of these men wrote to Mr. Dove imploring his help in work for Christ.

> For Christ's sake [he pleaded] come quick. Let nothing but sickness prevent you. . . . Come and see God convert the heathen. God has come to my house, and is at work in my family. Do not stop to change your clothes, to eat, or drink, or sleep; and salute no man by the way. . . . Do, do, for God's sake, start this moment; do not neglect me with all this burden; it is more than I can bear.

This incident, and the entreaty attending it, were startling evidence of the effect the Mission was exerting along the coast. The captives, liberated and brought to a new life and light, began to remember home, to care for their heathen kindred; new cravings and hopes were awakening in them, and a demand for Christian Missionaries arising in lands desolated by the slave-stealers. The British Navy was Christ's redeeming arm, the hope of a new life and manhood for the Black man everywhere. The Gospel, which followed on the work of the

war-cruiser, was striking the fetters of heathenism and sin from the sorely enslaved soul. Symbolic of this conjunction was the fact that in Sierra Leone the timbers of the condemned slave-ships at their sale found their way oftentimes into the hands of chapel-builders, to furnish points of strength and ornament for the construction of schools and houses of prayer designed to hold the former victims of the cruelty and wrong the Negroes had suffered in their attempted transport across the sea. To purchase the slave-ship, and turn it into the home and the messenger of freedom, was indeed a triumph, which has been many times repeated. The adventure of the Aku band of returning slave-exiles was a specimen of the work Sierra Leone was doing for humanity.

The year 1841 was memorable for West Africa. The Niger Expedition, inaugurated by Mackenzie Laird of Liverpool, called at Sierra Leone on its way out from England and completed its preparations there. This was at once a scientific and philanthropic enterprise, and many interests were embarked in it. It was designed to clear up geographical,[1] commercial, ethnographic, and religious questions which had long perplexed the students of Western Africa and held in doubt the promoters of Christian Missions. The Niger River made an immense sweep round the hinterland of the Guinea Coast, enclosing the country lying between the Sahara Desert and the Atlantic. Populous cities and powerful tribes lay along its banks, of which Europe and its Churches knew next to nothing.

The head waters of the Niger lay near those of the Senegal and Gambia, amongst the mountains north of the Sierra Leone territory and east of French Guinea, but this region since the time of Mungo Park's wanderings (1775–1806) had been little visited and was almost unknown. Until the Niger was properly mapped out and the character and the numbers of the peoples filling its huge valleys determined, missionaries, traders, and colonial administrators, busy along the coast, were working in the dark, and only touched the fringe of the problems they

[1] Beecham's *Ashantee and the Gold Coast* was published in the year 1841. The sources of the Niger are marked with tolerable correctness in the map prefixed to this work; but half its course is marked in dotted lines, leaving its exit uncertainly associated with Lake Chad or with the 'Bight of Benin.' Till the day of his death the discoverer of the Upper Niger, Mungo Park, believed that the embouchure of the Niger was identical with that of the Congo. The successive Niger Expeditions at length solved this mystery and won the commerce of the middle and lower stream for Great Britain.

handled. Though Government and the scientific and humanitarian Societies took exceptional pains and care in the outfitting of this expedition, it proved disastrous to the health and life of those engaged. The climate of the Lower Niger was pestilential. Hostile and treacherous tribes inhabited its middle reaches. A heavy loss of life was incurred, with a disappointing result in the way of gain to scientific knowledge and in the establishment of friendly political and commercial relations. The work of exploration had to be resumed in later years with the benefit of the painful experience acquired. The knowledge of tropical diseases and the modes of combating them were in their infancy, but from this time forth the attention of the British public was bent on the Niger hinterland. It was recognized that this great river was the key to West Africa; Great Britain was at present only combating the results of Negro slavery and undoing some of its mischiefs. The sources of the plague could not be stayed until the heart of the continent was reached, until its inland peoples became accessible and were brought under humanizing and Christianizing influences. The Niger Expedition of 1841 was a notable step in this direction, and has led to the great extensions of British influence and missionary expansion in West Africa within recent years.

In the same year an important visit of inspection was made to the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia Colony by a certain Dr. Madden, commissioned by the British Government to inquire into the state of the schools of the missionary bodies, and his findings were laid before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. In consequence of this inquiry much more encouragement was given to Mission schools on this coast than formerly. The Government of Sierra Leone went far to hand over the task of elementary education to these agencies, perceiving that Christianity supplies the vital element in the regeneration of the redeemed slaves. The Parliamentary Committee reported in 1842:

> To the invaluable exertions of the Church Missionary Society, as also to a considerable extent of the Wesleyan body, is due the fact that nearly one-fifth of the whole population—a most unusually high proportion in any country—are at school.

Soon a better education was demanded for the rescued slave

children, and further qualifications were required in their instructors. In 1843 a Wesleyan Training School was commenced at King Tom's Point, an old naval dépôt purchased from the Government and adapted for this use, which served its purpose tolerably for some thirty years afterwards. The Church Missionary Society had already started its College for Teachers at Fourah Bay, in which the two Societies now work conjointly. Mrs. Badger at this time gave a valuable impulse to the education of Sierra Leone girls; altogether missionary education in the early forties entered upon a more advanced stage.

Along with the demand for Native teachers the need for Native Ministers came to be considered, and the King Tom Institution was applied to both uses. Three or four Native Ministers had been called into service in the Gambia Mission and were found invaluable, but at Sierra Leone none had been hitherto advanced beyond the rank of catechists or hired local Preachers. About 1840 a young Negro named Joseph Wright, a captured slave and child of the Mission, had advanced so far that he was brought to Hoxton and Richmond College, in England, and returned to minister to his own people at Sierra Leone. Charles Knight entered the ministry along with him, receiving but a local training, and served acceptably for thirty-five years. These were the fathers of our Negro pastorate along the coast.

Another sign of development was the institution of a Wesleyan printing-press and the publication of a monthly religious newspaper, which was well supported by our people. Thomas Dove's alert and active superintendency, and the liberal hand with which he lent support to everything that made for progress, notably furthered the development of Methodist interests at this time. Toward the close of this decade a marked revival of religion set in at Sierra Leone, accompanied by a satisfying and hopeful awakening of the zeal for knowledge.

> There never was a period [writes a Missionary witness] in the history of Sierra Leone like the present. The public mind is awakening, and beginning to see and feel its own power and importance. The thirst for knowledge is general, especially for Biblical knowledge. The adult population is seizing every opportunity for improvement.

At the same time local Methodism helped to complete its

development by instituting an ' Auxiliary Missionary Society,' and a ' Chapel and Extension Fund.' The rapid influx of new members into the Society outgrew the chapel-space ; our chapels would hardly seat half the people who crowded into them. In 1851 it was said ' The *deepening* of the work of God has been a more marked feature of success than even its numerical extension.' Thomas Raston, the admirable Chairman who succeeded Thomas Dove in Sierra Leone, writes, concerning the nine years he has spent in Sierra Leone, that

> changes of vast importance have taken place. Especially in religion is a difference marked. A deeper tone of piety prevails, and a better and more experienced knowledge of the great doctrines.

The Sierra Leone District at the time made a prodigious effort, completed in 1854, to build its new ' Buxton Chapel ' (bearing the name of the slave-liberator), which formed a kind of cathedral for Colonial Methodism, and an ornament to the town. It was reared largely by the people's own hands, and was eighty feet in length by forty-six in breadth. The total cost of it was no less than £1,655, nearly all raised upon the spot. This great achievement helped the Sierra Leone Methodist Church toward stability and self-respect.

Our chapels in town and village were everywhere calling for enlargement and multiplication at this period. The Colony was growing fast, and Methodism was growing faster. But this was a time of financial straitness, due to the Reform agitation at home, when the Methodist Church was threatened with disruption, and had to tighten her purse-strings and say ' No ' to the most urgent pleadings of the work abroad. All over the Mission-field neglect of plant and the disrepair and unsanitary condition of Mission-buildings formed an outstanding symptom of our Missionary affairs. It was the crying complaint of the Sierra Leone reports. The efficiency of the Sierra Leone schools during the fifties suffered greatly from the neglect of their upkeep and their starved condition.

In 1857 the Niger Expedition was re-attempted, through Mackenzie Laird's magnanimous efforts, with better success. Amongst its objects was announced to be that of ' reporting on the facilities for the extension of missionary labours in the country through which the expedition will pass.' The leaders of the expedition applied to our Missionaries at Sierra Leone

for recruits, especially with the object above-named in view; and four of our trained men came forward to help them, one of whom had participated in the first expedition. These young men were acquainted with various forms of Native speech, some of them being masters of several languages. They were trained employés of the Mission, who had served it in various capacities, and proved of special use to the expedition. Their departure was signalized by a public meeting of the Methodist folk, who took extreme interest in the event, and entrusted many presents by way of messages of kindness and tokens of goodwill to their representatives for the Native people along the route. The slave trade was still active along the coast; prizes continued to be brought into Sierra Leone harbour, and the rescued slave population was swelled by steady increases. The old Nova Scotian and Maroon stock of the population was by this time far outnumbered by the new arrivals, who kept the Colony in touch with different parts of the coast, right down to the River Congo and beyond. The Spanish and Portuguese Governments were very reluctant to suppress slave-dealing amongst their subjects, and often found themselves powerless when they had the will. Even the French Colonials of Senegambia were tarred with the same brush, and gave constant trouble to the British officers watching against the inhuman trade. United States ships were sometimes caught man-stealing, and Brazilians frequently. But the stern and steady pressure of the British Navy gradually wore down the evil, while the influence of British example and diplomacy by degrees shamed foreign Governments of their connivance with the accursed traffic. While slavery remained a domestic institution in the greater part of Africa, the supply was always forthcoming for the foreign traders prowling along the shore, and with the institution still flourishing in America, and the market price of slaves rising so high, traders continued to be found to brave the risk of capture at sea. Had the fate of pirates—which they richly deserved—befallen the slave-transporters, the trade might have been suppressed, but this doom could not be inflicted.

Thomas Dove retired from the charge of Sierra Leone at the end of 1845, Henry Badger succeeding to the superintendency of the Mission. On his removal to St. Mary's in 1847 he was followed by Thomas Raston. After seven years

in West Africa and a short spell of labour in England Raston served on the Australian gold-fields at the height of the gold fever (1852–54). In the closing period of his ministry he was Chairman of the Bahamas District, W.I. Twice in his numerous voyages he suffered shipwreck—on the coast of Brazil and in the neighbourhood of Cork. Charles Knight and Joseph Wright now formed the whole Sierra Leone staff. From 1838 onwards the Sierra Leone Circuit had been divided into Freetown, with the General Superintendent of the Mission at its head, Hastings, Wellington, &c., as second Circuit, and York for third. At the same date the Gambia and Gold Coast were distinguished as Districts, and the evolution of the West Coast Mission entered a more articulate stage. In 1839 the new name of Thomas Edwards (junr.) appears at Hastings, and in 1842, at the same station, that of Samuel Annear; in 1843, William A. Quick, later of Australia, and Timothy T. Greeves in the same District; but these names were of brief continuance. Walter P. Garry, a Native of West Indian Grenada, came out to West Africa in 1848 as Principal of King Tom Institution; but in a very few years the climate compelled his return to the West Indian field, where he laboured for a long period, usefully and fruitfully, finally retiring to England. Richard Fletcher, the hero of the Honduras Mission, was another of those who commenced their missionary work on the east side of the Atlantic, soon to be removed to effect greater service in the west. Joseph May had grown up in the Mission and was one of its most faithful sons and useful servants, a rescued slave of the Yoruba people, converted to God under Benjamin Crosby and trained in the Sierra Leone Institution, then sent for further instruction to England. He was a schoolmaster to begin with, and appears first as assistant Missionary in 1829. After a successful year on the Gambia he was restored to the Sierra Leone District, and served for a long period as Native Pastor in its Circuits, ending his career there as supernumerary in 1891,[1] admired and loved by the people and greatly trusted by the English Ministers. Joseph May, in a letter written towards the end

[1] His son, Joseph Claudius May (1875–1902).who was sent to England for training, had quite a distinguished career in the African ranks, and was a most useful teacher-Missionary. He was the William F. Moulton of West Africa, Principal for the twenty five years of his ministry of the Sierra Leone Boys' High School. A notably humble-minded as well as a competent and faithful man, he was entirely free from the faults commonly ascribed to educated Negroes.

of 1858, compares the state of affairs then witnessed at Sierra Leone with that familiar to him twenty years earlier.

> At that previous date [he writes] the Methodist Society was in its infancy; now it is encouraging to see the improved state of things. The people are more civilized, their children educated both in the Church and Wesleyan schools, the Society larger, the chapel substantial and commodious, built of stone and covered with shingles, situated in the most prominent part of the town; the congregations regular, serious, and attentive; and many of my former scholars, I am happy to find, are intelligent and useful members of the Church. The Mission extended then only to Hastings, seven miles east of Freetown; but now Hastings is the head of a separate and larger Circuit, embracing in order Wellington, Calaba Town, Allen Town, Kosso Town, Waterloo, Benguema, Samuel's Town, Middletown, and Cole's Town, each of which has a chapel or preaching-place.

Difficulties arose in connexion with a system of idolatry known as *bondoo*. This was carried on by Native women from across the river, who gave out that the rites they prescribed purified from sin and preserved from bodily disease. Women who embraced this delusion were secluded for some months in the bush, and emerged for public exhibition in a state of almost complete nudity, with their bodies daubed with grease, and bells and beads attached to them. Processions of the victims, with drummings and trumpetings, took place. May relates the case of the wife of one of his Sunday-school teachers, who had abandoned her own babe under the spell of the delusion. The struggle with the *bondoo* superstition was severely trying, but it was carried on with energy, and with tokens of success. A companion Native Minister, named James Hero, reports in modest and sensible terms the progress of his work from the York Circuit, the third of the divided Sierra Leone area. In 1846, when the earliest distinct enumeration of Circuit membership in this field appears, the Freetown Circuit was credited with 1,898, Hastings and Wellington with 510, and York with 285 members of Society.

James Edney's long missionary life was divided between West Africa and the West Indies. His most notable work was probably done at Belize in the thirties and forties. He was General Superintendent of the Sierra Leone Mission from 1850 to 1855. A man of peace and deep piety, whose steady zeal and 'affectionate earnestness' made him everywhere beloved,

he was sufficiently vigorous and authoritative for the Chairman's post in a Mission District. John C. Weatherston and Francis Teal held the reins of the Sierra Leone District each for a short time during the later fifties. They were both much respected and able Superintendents, but neither could withstand the maladies of the climate. Teal returned to England and exercised a long subsequent ministry there; Weatherston yielded his life upon the African soil, quite a young man. In October, 1857, Thomas Champness landed on the coast, and served for some time at his old station before being moved to the Gold Coast. While there, his Chairman (Weatherston) writes of him:

> I like him very much. I feel in him a brother and a Preacher. Unless he gets spoiled, he will make a good hard-working Missionary. It is such men I ask the Committee to send me.

Mr. Champness himself writes from Sierra Leone:

> You would smile if you were to see how changeable I am about leaving. When I am in bed swallowing calomel, &c., and my bones aching, my head burning, and loathing all kinds of nourishment, I feel that I must leave. But no sooner do I feel strong than Sierra Leone seems too pleasant a place to leave just yet. I am very happy in my mind. The work is very dear to me, and the people, although very trying, are just the kind of folks I like to labour amongst. Though weak in body, I am happy in mind, and ready for whatever may come.

In Sierra Leone Champness received an extraordinary letter from the hand of George Osborn at Bishopsgate, which goes far to explain the fatal character of the Missionaries' residence in this centre. An account had come to Osborn from a competent hand of the state of the Mission House in Sierra Leone which 'staggers belief,' describing, for one thing, the stables as the lower storey underneath the bedrooms, whither they send up 'a strong smell.' Many years ago, it is stated, orders were sent out to rectify this particular nuisance, but they seem never to have been carried out.

> We must now beg you [says the Missionary Secretary] to send us immediate and accurate information as to the situation of the house, number and size of rooms, drainage, &c., with such observations as may occur to you as to the means of improving the accommodation and the probable cost. But do not wait for further orders before the stables are removed. . . . Any moderate expense—moderate, I mean, as judged

by a colonial standard—the Committee will cheerfully defray rather than perpetuate a state of things so unusual and so dangerous.

The year 1859 was a calamitous one in the health of the Mission, but after this date, whatever the cause, great and lasting improvement was marked.

The population of Sierra Leone was noted about this time as 41,624, of whom 15,180 were returned as Methodists, and 12,954 as Anglicans; there were 3,351 pagans and 1,734 Muhammadans. The latter two figures vastly increased in subsequent years, through the enormous incursion of residents from the neighbouring Native tribes.

The records indicate a revival of our Mission cause during the sixties, and great ingatherings in many of the Sierra Leone Societies. The Freetown Circuit now counted more than 3,000 members, and the smaller Circuits totalled an approximate number. We were holding the District, however, with little more than a skeleton European staff. In 1860 not a single English Missionary of senior standing appears at Sierra Leone, except the Supernumerary Samuel Brown, who bravely volunteered to serve here in old age for another term. Our strength in the West African field was being thrown into the Gold Coast District. This was the time following the Indian Mutiny and the Chinese War, when the Missionary Society was straining every nerve to strengthen its Eastern Missions, and while the Italian enterprise was being set on foot. The work in the South Seas had taxed our Society heavily in men and means for the last thirty years. At the same time new Conferences in the Colonies, American and Australian, had just been raised up by prodigious effort; and Methodism in South Africa was anticipating a like development. It is no wonder that the Church found it difficult to meet the wants of the West Indies and West Africa, in both of which regions past oppressions raised a loud and pitiful cry for Christian light and liberty. A Mission House letter dated November, 1866, bearing unmistakable marks of Dr. Osborn's mind, shows with what keen watchfulness and insight, and in how true a Methodist spirit, the oversight of this part of the Mission-field was carried on:

We must regard Sierra Leone as advancing beyond a mere Mission to the position of a Church, in a great measure self-supporting, though

for the present assisted by grants from the Mission House Fund. The blessing which God has vouchsafed to the labours of His servants during the last half-century, in granting them so large a number of souls as the seals of their ministry, is the best indication of the apostolic character of the work itself. Greatly do we rejoice in the glory of God thus manifested amongst the once down-trodden and despised sons of Africa. But we are reminded that 'upon all the glory' must be 'a defence,' such as is afforded by the godly discipline of our Church strictly, impartially, and lovingly carried out.

The homily dwells on the particulars of rule affecting the conduct of Preachers towards each other, their mutual oversight, sympathy, deference, and support. The Class-meeting system is commended as peculiarly valuable for members such as those of the West African Churches, babes in Christ, greatly in need of training and nursing and so susceptible to its influences. In the quarterly visitation of Classes, as in the public ministry of the word, we should be careful to preach the law as well as the Gospel, and enforce the duties of religion, while we exhibit the rich privileges offered to all constant believers. The sins of untruthfulness, uncleanness, brawling, evil-speaking, covetousness, tale-bearing, idleness, and meddlesomeness are at times more prevalent than others, and it is our duty openly and uncompromisingly to testify against them. The notion that great allowances must be made for recent converts from heathenism is true as regards sins of ignorance, but must not be wrested to countenance a low morality. Believing that God hath 'made of one blood all nations of men,' we are satisfied of the oneness of their moral as well as their physical nature; and we see no reason why African Christians who have equal privileges should be behind their brethren in any of the graces of the Christian character. Some of the brightest examples of a living Christianity have been raised up in our African Churches. Hence we take encouragement for the future, and look forward to the period, not far distant, when a truly converted and trained Native ministry will furnish Missionaries ready to penetrate into the interior, to labour and, if need be, to die for Christ. So much of the welfare of Africa thus being dependent, humanly speaking, on the spirituality of Christian Churches in Sierra Leone, we are jealous over you with a godly jealousy. The increase, stability, and future prosperity of the Church in Sierra Leone is connected with its becoming

as soon as possible a self-supporting Church. In this respect we need no new rules, but to abide by and carry into effect our entire financial economy, making it a part of our religion —a subordinate part indeed, but one that cannot be neglected without spiritual injury. This was wise and godly counsel for the Sierra Leone District, and those familiar with George Osborn's voice and manner will recognize the old note of Wesleyan tradition, which rang out so often from the same lips, commanding the reverence of the Conference.

Two men rendered in their old age invaluable work in this District at great sacrifice, whose chief strength in earlier years had been spent in far distant fields—Benjamin Tregaskis, who became Chairman of Sierra Leone after twenty-seven years of strenuous labour in the West Indies, and Matthew Godman, when in 1877 he took charge of the same field. Tregaskis was unsurpassed as a disciplinarian and administrator. He took in hand the King Tom's Institution, which had now ceased to serve its purpose, and made an advantageous sale of the property, securing a more suitable site on which was built the Wesleyan High School and Training Institution, which has subsequently been eminently successful, having a few years ago nearly 200 pupils, 40 of them boarders. Tregaskis's stickling for discipline brought him into frequent collision both with English and Native Ministers, and occasioned many letters of protest to the Mission House against harsh treatment ; but his sterling worth was recognized none the less. Here is an example of his stern devotion to duty (he is engaged on the buildings of the new Training Institution) :

> The tornado season is upon us, and the building is very much open while under indispensable repairs and alterations. . . . We have had two mild brushes already, one at midnight wild enough to keep me praying at a lee window as I never prayed before over a building operation. . . . I wandered about the house in my surplice until I prayed myself out, got a chill, and as a result such a wretched cold that I could scarcely speak, though I buried myself in blankets.

So sensible was Tregaskis of the vital importance of educational training here that he writes to Bishopsgate : ' You may sooner think of closing your chapels than of extending religion in this settlement without education.' Tregaskis was a prodigious letter-writer ; his official letters sometimes ran into a dozen folios.

It was during Mr. Tregaskis' rule that the trouble arose about the hut tax and other connected matters in the Sierra Leone Colony. A tax of five shillings per house, without regard to income, was imposed. This tax was entirely foreign to the customs of the people, and bore with crushing hardship on the poorer sort. The Governor and leading officials were deaf to remonstrances. At length, in 1872, Tregaskis and other Missionaries took up the dispute. They cited several cases of cruel oppression and wrong arising under the imposition of the tax, and showed how it was goading the peaceable Natives into rebellion and endangering the security of Her Majesty's dominions. The complaint reached Parliament, and Sir William M'Arthur, representing the Missionary Society, got the ear of the House of Commons on the subject. The obstinate Governor was removed, and Sir John Pope Hennessey was appointed in his place, who gave a fair hearing to the expostulations of Tregaskis and others, resulting in the abolition of the obnoxious tax and the restoration of peace and contentment. A great public danger was averted, for bloodshed was imminent, and a large body of troops was on the point of being dispatched from England to suppress the threatened rising, when this concession was made. Governor Hennessey was much blamed for yielding. To find means of raising an adequate revenue for purposes of civilized government from subjects in the condition of most of the Sierra Leone people was a standing difficulty, and in some other Colonies the hut tax or equivalent imposts had been found practicable; but it worked fatally here. The whole Colony was thrilled with gratitude, and a popular thanksgiving was summoned at the Buxton Chapel, which held a thousand worshippers, that number being exceeded four or five times over by the attendance. Twenty years later conflict arose on the same question between the British Government and the Native tribes of the Dependency outside the Colony in the Protectorate, in which much bloodshed and destruction of property ensued.

Mrs. Tregaskis was an extraordinary woman, a daughter of James Horne, one of the earlier and most talented and successful West Indian Missionaries. Chambers, Tregaskis' Chairman in the Antigua District and a severe critic of men, describes him as of

a spare, muscular, iron frame, unflagging energy, and as having an

acquaintance with the pathology of tropical affections so thorough that he is one of the most skilful empirics in these islands. . . . Unfortunately he has not been so successful in securing the respect and affection of these Churches as one could have wished; but perhaps there is something to be attributed to the peculiarity of West Indian Society which might not be a hindrance to him in Africa.

His appointment was the outcome of a particular and unprecedented appeal made in the Antigua Synod for West Africa. When Tregaskis wished to make a definite offer for this service, the Committee, at first ignoring his proposal, declared that no suitably 'judicious and experienced Minister' was forthcoming. But they were subsequently very thankful for the offer of his services, which were accepted chiefly upon James Edney's proposal. He set the affairs of the District in good order, renovated its property, and represented it in public affairs with admirable spirit and success. And if he appeared to magnify his office and was severe on blunderers and defaulters, those who smarted under his censures often respected him the most and owed him the most lasting benefit.

Matthew Godman was an old man who had done a lifetime's work in South Africa (1847–77) when he took the reins at Sierra Leone, five years after Tregaskis' retirement. His ministry dates from 1843, when he was stationed at St. Mary's, the Gambia. Thence he returned to England four years later, his first wife having died at sea. A year later he started a new career at Cape Town, and was one of the most laborious and practically effective workers in the Native and Colonial Circuits, until his return to England in 1876. In 1877 he was made General Superintendent of the Sierra Leone Mission, where in the last five years he accomplished 'the most fruitful work of his life.' His wife (the new Mrs. Godman) was a chief partner in his success. She was a leader in girls' education at Sierra Leone, and gathered round her a company of women, inspired with her own zeal, under the name of the Wesleyan Female Educational Institution. Headed by a Native gentleman of the name of James Taylor, these ladies formed a kind of Wesleyan public school company, founded in 1880. This foundation, which declined after Mr. Taylor's and Mrs. Godman's death, taken over by the Missionary Society, was revived in 1903, when Miss Balmer became its conductress. Since 1905 the Wesley deaconesses have provided its guidance.

The work accomplished by this movement for the girls corresponded to that achieved for the boys under Mr. Godman's auspices. Secondary education received a great impulse in Sierra Leone Methodism at this period; indeed, it has never looked back since Mr. and Mrs. Godman's time.

But Godman left his deepest mark on the Sierra Leone District in the movement for the extension of its work beyond the bounds of the Colony, which he initiated. On his arrival Godman was deeply concerned at Sierra Leone, at our want of success amongst the surrounding heathen. He saw a Negro Church of large numbers (in 1880 it counted nearly 6,000 members) and of considerable resources, self-sustaining and self-contained. Its children, the offspring of rescued slaves, were growing up with little influence upon, or concern for, the multitude of heathen living around them and beginning to crowd upon them, to whom the British Protectorate gave them free access. 'I do not think,' says Godman, looking at the existing and self-satisfied Negro Church, 'that this is the kind of work to which we are called; I would rather go to the heathen.' 'I go to find,' he writes, 'a door of entrance into the interior, knowing that the eyes of the Church, of angels, of devils, and of God, are fixed upon us.'

Matthew Godman determined that this state of things must and should be changed, that Sierra Leone should be made the centre of a real and powerful 'Mission' to the pagan tribes within its reach. He inaugurated a habit of excursion and visitation to tribal chiefs along the river-ways and mountain roads leading down to the coast. In this plan for the Mission he was vigorously seconded by several young Missionaries, newly arrived, including David Huddleston and Edward Jope. John T. F. Halligey, who had moved earlier in the same direction—under Tregaskis—had returned to England for a while; afterwards he became the missionary leader in the Gold Coast and Lagos fields. The Sherbro Mission upon the peninsula, which stretches twenty miles along the south flank of the Colony, with Bonthe for its chief town, and the Limbah Mission, running up into the river in the north country at the back of the Colony, were the fruit of these activities; also the great Mendi tribe, partly Muhammadan, which occupied the fertile country north-east of the Colony toward Liberia and was still in a barbarous condition, was

approached with some success. A Native trader named Williams, a man of influence among the people, was a great helper of Godman's enterprise. In the annual report for 1876, which reflects Mr. Godman's views, we read :

> Confined to the narrow limits of this small Colony (S.L.), our Church has lost its missionary character entirely and become a pastorate, while the regions beyond are all unwatered and unblest so far as our labours are concerned, and our people for want of employment have become dead or have drifted off to other Churches, to other places, and have left the service of God for worldly pursuits, and many for the world altogether ; but we are thankful that the cloud is beginning to disperse.

The chiefs and petty kings outside were commonly friendly ; they were coming to perceive the advantages of European instruction and missionary advice. The tribal feuds and jealousies, which yielded very slowly to the controlling influence of the Government, and in the Mendi country Muhammadan fanaticism and jealousy were the chief forces in opposition. ' If the Natives are left to themselves,' writes Huddleston, ' disturbances will be constantly occurring.'

He was particularly sorry for the slackness of the training work at Sierra Leone, at present due to the illness of J. W. Harbord, placed at its head. The training of Native schoolmasters was the nerve of our whole work in this field ; it became more indispensable than ever now that missionary agency was spreading outside the close area of the Colony, and began to grapple with the wants of the indigenous population of the Protectorate. It was more and more necessary that Sierra Leone should become the head quarters and training-centre for a network of active evangelism and elementary teaching spread over and beyond the entire British Protectorate. A handful of the Sierra Leone Native laymen entered into these plans and ideas, and used their wide opportunities as travelling merchants to recommend the Gospel and the Missionaries ; the trouble was that the bulk of our Negro laymen reared in the Colony were indifferent to missionary matters, and content that they and theirs should appropriate the privileges of Christian light and training.

The Protectorate, as distinct from the Colony, was politically organized in 1896 under the Government of Sierra Leone. Inland it extends about 180 miles, with an area of 27,000

square miles and a population of 1,327,560 (according to the census of 1911). The area of the Colony was 4,000 square miles, and the population 75,000. It had a light railway of about 230 miles running from Freetown to the Liberian border. The nature of its products and exports was much the same as those of the Colony; but the climate away from the coast was much healthier and more favourable for residence. The people were backward in civilization, and mostly very averse from 'the white man's religion,' and given to secret rituals of a revolting nature. They lived under their Native chiefs, who paid allegiance, sometimes ill-defined, to British rule, and were liable to break out into riots and massacres, so that life was not very safe amongst them. We had at that time 720 Methodist Church members, in six Mission Circuits, belonging to the Protectorate area, while about ten times as many were found in the whole District. Bonthe, at the head of the Sherbro Circuit, Fouricariah, about the centre of the Protectorate, Gambia, amongst the Timmanees on the great Scarcies River in the north-west, Mabang, also in Temneland, Falaba, amongst the mountains on the northern border near the source of the Niger, and Bandajuma, belonging to the Mendis in the heart of the Protectorate, were chief centres of Methodist activity outside the Colony. These names now began to appear on the enlarged map of the Sierra Leone Missionaries' travels as the Mission burst its Colonial bonds and embraced the wider Protectorate sphere.

Amongst the Native Ministers mentioned with frequent honour and approval in this Mission during the sixties, seventies, and eighties was Daniel W. Thorpe, who established on his own responsibility a collegiate school in Freetown, and was an ardent teacher. He carried on this school successfully, with such a staff as he could gather, until he was raised to the ministry in 1870. Thorpe was in the Niger Expedition of 1858 before entering the ministry, in which he laboured for nearly forty years. He is recorded as 'gifted and erudite,' an 'able and earnest Preacher,' his sermons characterized by 'careful thought and ample preparation,' 'a strict disciplinarian, blending justice with mercy,' one of those on whom Benjamin Tregaskis had set his stamp.

There were Native Preachers of the name of Marke—Charles, William B., and William G.—who laboured with acceptance

in the last half-century. Charles, the eldest of the three, was a companion of Thorpe on the Niger voyage of 1858, and died at a great age in 1914, after travelling all the Circuits of the Sierra Leone District. His ministry was full of 'Christ and Him crucified,' and richly fruitful. He lived to be the senior Minister of the District—'guide, adviser, and friend of his brethren.' He wrote a useful series of articles on Wesleyan Missionaries in West Africa in *Work and Workers* for 1899, and a volume entitled *Wesleyan Methodism in Sierra Leone*, published by the London Book-Room. William George Marke (1876–84) was also the child of recaptured slave-parents of the Nupé tribe. He was a King Tom student, first a schoolmaster, then Local Preacher and Minister, preached in the Temne and Nupé languages, and was a great force in the pulpit. Three thousand people attended his funeral. These were the sort of men who built up our Native work along the coast.

Edward D. Dannatt was sent out from England in 1870, and laboured there but two years; thereafter ten years in Jamaica, followed by two at Rheims in France. Though his time of labour was short and broken, he impressed himself deeply by the strength of his knowledge and character, and the depth and force of his spiritual life. There were young men at Sierra Leone who never lost the impress of Dannatt's touch upon them. He ministered for thirty-six years in the home field. Lionel Dods Reay was allowed to buckle on the armour of African conflict, but only to lay it aside again. He was appointed head of the Native Training Institution in 1852, and returned home disabled in 1856. Continuing his labours at home in much infirmity till 1876, he suffered with 'a patient, uncomplaining spirit,' and 'in spirit, action, and word exemplified to a high degree the genius of the Christian Minister.' John T. F. Halligey was one of the most notable and effective Missionaries of our West African Mission. He spent two distinct periods on the coast, first at Sierra Leone, 1869–73, where he was chief helper and lieutenant of Tregaskis in his plans of reorganization and extension. Then, returning to England, he rendered exceptionally valuable service as missionary advocate and adviser, and in 1885 sailed anew to West Africa, to open up fresh fields on the Gold Coast and Lagos District. We shall have occasion to revert to his work later.

One of the Missionaries of this period greatly injured the cause he set out to further. He was a clever and active man, who seemed expressly raised up to promote the extension of Methodist work to the Protectorate, and to realize Godman's ideas of the greater Sierra Leone Church. He became master of several of the vernacular tongues, and acquired the confidence of Native chiefs and peoples. For several years he continued to send home reports glowing with evangelical zeal and success and full of encouraging tales of journeys made and converts won and of contributions made by Natives of influence to the work of the Mission. He found the new country at the back of the Colony far healthier and more safely habitable than the Coast settlements to which Europeans resorted. Not only his fellow Missionaries but the ruling civilians watched his advance into the interior with lively interest, and great things seemed likely to come of it. But he was too long away from the companionship and influence of his brethren fellow workers. In seeking to wean converts from heathen habits he allowed heathenism to infect himself, and began to live as ' those who know not God.' He renounced the ministry for the life of a Native trader, and died amongst the heathen a few years later. This backsliding resulted in a deplorable setback to the Native work among the outlying tribes, falling short, however, of complete destruction. In forthcoming years tribal feuds and rebellions grievously disturbed, and in some quarters suspended, the work of the Mission ; to some extent they veiled by their effect the injury wrought through this grievous apostasy. A remnant of the converts were found faithful ; the seed of the Gospel had struck deep root here and there in the wide soil. The names of Limbah, Scarcies, Ribbi, and Bandajuma remained as heads of Circuits in the Sierra Leone District ; they found abundant scope for the sons whom the old Sierra Leone Church had raised up to serve God as Ministers and schoolmasters amongst the surrounding heathen. In the List of Stations for the current year (1918) there are twenty-two names of African Ministers to four of English birth.

William H. Maude, who had served his probation worthily at Sierra Leone in 1867–70, returned to the District as Chairman from 1882 to 1886, and served there at a later period (1896–1910) for the unprecedented period of fourteen years. The

intervening years were spent diligently in English work.[1] He thus became a veteran African Missionary, our most experienced and respected Minister upon the West Coast. He saw the District extended in his time from a membership of near 3,000 to 7,000, and many improvements and developments in organization were effected, especially in the expansion of the Native Ministry and in self-support; he was a most patient, careful, modest, and judicious missionary chief.

Edward Wright Adcock was one of the valued men early lost to West African work. Coming to Sierra Leone in 1884, at the time when the District was taking a new start and a larger scope, he volunteered for an outpost Protectorate station, and was stationed at Fouricariah. Adcock was a man of fine presence and impressive eloquence, worthy to command the best Circuits at home, in which he laboured for nearly thirty years on his return to England after two years of broken health. He is described as a man of 'robust constitution.' and of 'sunny and buoyant disposition,' withal a 'conscientious and faithful pastor.' His death was painfully sudden. Edward must be distinguished in the African field from George Adcock, a Gambia Missionary, who also came home early and spent many years with acceptance in home Circuits. Ralph Herbert Williams, after a first term of labour at St. Mary's, on the Gambia (1894–1901), at that period under the Sierra Leone Chairman, returned to England in 1902, and was sent to Freetown in 1917, where he now stands at the head of both Districts. Williams, in his former period of missionary service, studied Arabic with a view to work amongst the Foulahs and Mandingoes. He had met on the Gambia with intelligent Muhammadans, who were willing to read the Gospels, and had no doubt of finding hundreds, if not thousands, of willing and respectful hearers amongst the Moslemized Africans. James Walton has laboured energetically in that District since 1903. Jabez Bridge has done conspicuous and fearless service, both west and east of the Atlantic. From 1880 to 1884 he served as an active and well-approved Bahamas Missionary. In 1892, after a period of labour in England, he went out to superintend the Sierra Leone District for four years, and made his influence felt as

[1] After the Centenary year Mr. Maude went out for a fourth term of service; this time as Chairman of the Gold Coast District, 1915–1920.

that of an outspoken reformer and a vigorous champion of the Black man, not blind to his faults. Bridge effectively called the attention of the Conference to the needs of West Africa, and secured the long-desired visitation of a Missionary Secretary to the coast.

Bridge reports, writing as Chairman in 1894, and referring to the Synod of that year :

> The young Native Ministers are doing us great credit. What we should do without our high school, or if it went down, I do not know. All the good work being done is the product of the training at the high school. Our Limbah work is getting on well. The chief has helped to rebuild the Mission church. Our Sherbro and Timmanee Missions have made good progress.

The outsiders now crowding into the Colony imported a new paganism. Muhammadanism was being introduced on almost as large a scale. This was fast becoming *the* problem of the Sierra Leone Mission, and Christianity was in danger of being swamped by the influx of these enemies. Bridge continues :

> There are also large fields close at hand which are still unoccupied by us. . . . The Synod proposes to commence an aggressive work amongst the races residing there. . . . Never in the history of Missions in our District have there been more hopeful signs for the development and consolidation of our work, established at so much cost.

It looks as though Matthew Godman had effectually awakened the Sierra Leone District to its duty, and inaugurated a new era in its history. In 1895 a further step in advance in internal development was made by the division of the Freetown First Circuit, on account of its excessive 'numerical bulkiness.' The numbers of the two Circuits were respectively 2,250 and 1,154 ; in Freetown and the adjoining townships there was a total of 5,564 Church members ; in the outlying districts, 455. The Protectorate area was still but thinly evangelized. The conferring of the rank of knighthood on Sir Samuel Lewis[1] in 1896 may be noted, as it marked the rise in social distinction of the Native laymen of this District. The years 1892–96 —a hundred years since the founding of the Colony—had been celebrated by the raising of a Centenary Methodist Fund in expression of the Church's gratitude, designed to promote

[1] Sir Samuel's father was brought to the Colony from a captured slave-ship. The son was the first Negro to receive the honour of knighthood.

Church extension and to consolidate our central institutions. The response was not so liberal as had been hoped for, but it enabled the Church to put its chapels and other premises in good repair.

The later nineties were marked by the most disastrous and distressing calamity that ever visited the British dominion upon this coast. It was nothing less than an outbreak of wild savagery directed against the advance of civilization and the restraints of law and order. The rising commenced in the Mendi country ; then the Sherbros, who had been more closely and for a longer time under British influence, took fire ; the conflagration finally spread over most of the ' protected ' area. The whole country between the Colony and Monrovia was devastated :

> Everything in the shape of civilization was swept away—Government property and the scattered police, trading factories and traders ; churches, schools, Mission houses, and Missionaries, whether English, or American, or Sierra Leonean, without respect to age or sex ; the whole country, in short, was reduced to a wilderness.

For the Mission the most alarming incident of this outburst was a heathen attack made in 1898 by a company of armed savages on the congregation gathering for worship at the village of Yeileh, in the north of Sherbro Circuit. It took place at the opening of a new Wesleyan chapel for Divine service ; and a fright was caused that operated far and wide. The assault was as little anticipated as it might have been in a Yorkshire or Lincolnshire hamlet. It showed how strong were the primitive passions still lurking in the breasts of the indigenous heathen, and how urgent a necessity existed for the most energetic missionary work amongst the immediate neighbours of our prosperous Christian community at Sierra Leone. Manifestly ' light could have no fellowship with darkness ; nor the temple of God with idols.' ' In connexion with the Sherbro Mission alone (south of Sierra Leone), it was reported on this occasion that more than two hundred of our members were killed, including some of our devoted agents.'

The revolt against the house tax, which had caused trouble in the Colony twenty years earlier, was smouldering on in the Protectorate. Moreover, food stuffs had risen to an exorbitant

price, and the poor were distressed on this account. For some reason the country happened just then to be denuded of Native troops, and the ill-disposed saw an opportunity of which they took a sudden and fierce advantage.

The semi-Jubilee of the high school, still under Joseph Claudius May's rule, was held in 1899. Occasion was taken to publish the record of over 1,000 pupils who had passed through its curriculum. Of these, thirteen had become Ministers of religion (nearly all Methodists), four doctors of medicine, and three barristers; seven were employed in the Post Office, eighteen in the Customs Service; and others filled important posts in Government offices. Evidently this school was doing vital work for the Sierra Leone community, and Benjamin Tregaskis had rendered a memorable service in building it. There was a real connexion between this event and a letter transmitted to Mr. Maude through the Governor of the Colony, which was addressed by the Mendi chief of Bandajuma, Momo Kaikai—

> Inviting the attention of the Church to send Missionaries and to open a Mission station at Bandajuma for the Christianization of my people, with a school, that our children may have a religious teaching. I have consulted most of my headmen concerning this [says the writer], and they unanimously promised to do their utmost to erect buildings both for Divine worship as well as residence for a teacher.

This was the beginning of our publicly recognized and established work at Bandajuma.

The Bandajuma chief had probably been convinced by the disastrous consequences of the recent heathen reaction, that there was need to accelerate the progress of Christianity amongst his people; the cause of Christ was bound to conquer, and it was time to throw in his lot with the winning side. 'In the Sherbro and Timmanee Missions,' the Chairman writes at this juncture, 'much good work is being done'; and, respecting the Sierra Leone Synod, 'Extensive building operations are being carried on,' and 'the liberality of the people is unbounded.' Evidently the disastrous tragedy at Yeileh had not stricken the Mission with panic.

We have arrived, with the Godman-Bridge epoch, at the modern phase of the Sierra Leone Methodist Mission; it has opened out from its earlier limited and specialized into its broader African period. Sierra Leone learned perforce to

look at itself as existing for the evangelization of West Africa, and not for the rearing of a superior and favoured company existing apart and by itself. First commenced as 'a refuge and asylum and settlement for the oppressed,' Freetown had grown into the centre of an important and populous province of the British Empire; it ranked as a commercial emporium, the principal port of West Africa, attracting a free Native population drawn from numerous and distant points in the West African area. Bishop E. G. Ingham, writing in 1894 upon *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, counts the people of the Colony (according to the census of 1891) at 74,000; *nearly half of these* (now estimated at more than half) *are Muhammadans and pagans*. Our civilization, virtually our Christianity, has brought this mass of population there; and we are responsible for them. The outside heathenism and Muhammadanism has flung itself upon us, and we cannot escape it. An aggressive and determined Christianity, of the most demonstrative kind, is called for, upon ground that appeared to be regarded as a safe preserve of the Missionary, as a secure fastness, a shelter where the teacher of the Gospel might have it all his own way. In 1899 it is complained, on the other hand, that the Sierra Leone Mission has been 'drained of European workers.' For ten years past the Chairman has been the only English leader supplied to the District. 'Just when the maturing Church might have set free European Missionaries to head the advance into the interior, they were withdrawn altogether.' This economy was ill-timed, and very discouraging to the growth of the District, coming as it did when the belated missionary spirit was awaking amongst the people, when the Government control was extending in its own field and opening new facilities for missionary action; when invitations and opportunities for advance were multiplying; and when the spirit of fanatical opposition was inflamed amongst outsiders, and Christian progress was contested as never before. It was the very time to strike a decisive blow for the extension of Christ's Kingdom such as would put heart into our own loyal people and give us a firm foothold throughout the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

As the new century opened (in 1900), Freetown was found to contain four Circuits, the latest formed, *Wilberforce Street*, including two accessions of chapels that had volunteered to

unite themselves with the Wesleyan Methodist Church—one of these, *Zion Chapel*, built in 1809, being an old foundation of original Nova Scotian settlers, who were previously members of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion; the other an off-shoot of seceders from our own Church who had left us in 1836 and now returned home.

Robert H. Gush at this period was stationed at Bandajuma, so that there was one European Minister at least put in charge of an important pioneer station and outpost of the District. Including Sherbro, the membership in the three outlying Circuits, after the destructive period of political rebellion, amounted to 334; the Colonial membership was 6,435. 'Living in "the bush"' Gush reports as 'far happier, if less comfortable, than in the coast towns.' The chief at Bandajuma is so friendly that he requires all the adult Mendis to attend Divine service there. Robert Gush had been a popular and effective home missionary Preacher in England, and was a lively, stirring African Missionary abroad—a man whose heart was full of Christ. He served on the West Coast during nine years (1898–1907), with four years' furlough in the middle of this period, and laboured at home eight years after his final return. Never a strong man, his ardent and telling course was too soon cut short by illness; but he will be long remembered with admiration and gratitude in Africa, as well as in his native land.

William H. Findlay, shortly after his election to the Mission House in 1900, paid two official visits to West Africa, one of them devoted to the Gambia and Sierra Leone Districts, the other to the coast farther east. He sums up the missionary position in Sierra Leone[1] in the following terms:

> The governing feature of the situation is the gulf that separates the Sierra Leone Christians from the indigenous population of the country. There is practically no community of race or language between the Sierra-Leoneans, to whom our main efforts for the last ninety years have been applied, and the real, indigenous inhabitants. The former are the descendants of Negroes imported from Nova Scotia and Jamaica, or liberated from slave-ships; and, though pure Africans by race, are an artificial community, whose language has always been a form of English, whose manner of life has been modelled by ours, and between whom and the indigenous tribes around them there has been little intimacy or sympathy, scarcely even the recognition of kinship.

[1] *Work and Workers*, 1902, p. 239.

Our first Missionaries were sent to the Sierra Leoneans, and the main current of our work has ever since flowed in the same channel. In character and methods it has been more like work carried on among a nominally Christian community than like Mission work in a heathen land as usually conceived. Our ninety years' labour has been wonderfully owned of God. We have now 11 Circuits, with nearly 7,000 full members. They maintain their own ministry, churches, and schools, Class and ticket money averaging 5*s.* 7*d.* per member per annum. I doubt whether, in any town of its size in the English-speaking world, Methodism is so strong to-day as in Freetown, Sierra Leone; for we have 13 churches, 15 Ministers, and over 4,000 full members amongst its population of less than 35,000. But while among this community God has permitted us to see a transformation wrought, unparalleled perhaps in the annals of our Society, unless in Fiji, this success has had very little effect indeed on the tribes around and beyond the Sierra Leonean community. . . . Just at the time when that community was becoming able to do without our money and our Missionaries, and we might have directed them to the more missionary task of the country, the Church at home imposed on the Committee a policy of retrenchment; and the men and means liberated by the growth of the Sierra Leone Church were withdrawn altogether. The result is that the work of evangelizing the main population of the country lies before us to-day almost as formidable, and as untouched, as if there were no Sierra Leone Church in existence. We have made a beginning—but a mere beginning—at two stations in the interior. In the Limbah Mission, whose centre is at Fouricariah, we have been at work ever since 1880, and till 1889 we had a Missionary there. Since then we have sent no Missionary; and, though the Church has not died out, it has made little progress. Not even a complete Gospel has been translated into the Limban tongue. Only one Native agent has been raised up amongst the people. . . . Yet it is a healthy little cause, really rooted in the soil.

The course that our work should take in Sierra Leone and its hinterland is not hard to determine. We need, first of all, an additional Missionary in Freetown, to inspire and organize and superintend work amongst the pagans and Muhammadans who now form nearly half its population. The work at Bandajuma will soon need a second man, perhaps an industrial lay Missionary.

Mr. Findlay said that he had seen nothing in Africa which reminded him so much of an Indian vernacular missionary station, in its conditions of language and religion, as Bandajuma.

After thus providing for the proper development of the work to which we have already set our hand, we must post a man at Gambia, where we have already a little cause, for work amongst the numerous Tenni and Susi villages of the Great Scarcies River, which bounds the Protectorate on the West or French (Senegambian) side. In fact the Missionary Society, now shepherding, by means of Native Ministers, its old-established flocks, and rearing its children of past days within

the Colony, almost as though this were its sole business and responsibility, must lay itself out, through its young Missionaries, fresh from England, to win the heathen tribes and Moslem perverts who people the Protectorate and crowd into Sierra Leone from the outlying country. Next to a reinforced pioneer missionary staff, the second necessity of the situation is the strengthening of Sierra Leone as an educational centre.

Mr. Findlay urgently advised the establishment of a theological college at or near Freetown, which might serve all the West Coast Districts in the way of training and inspiring the Native ministry. This was effected by the appointment of William T. Balmer, who was sent as Principal of 'Richmond College' at Sierra Leone. Over this college he presided for eight years. Subsequently Balmer served the Gold Coast District in a similar capacity in 1909–11; he was restored to Freetown in 1914. Mr. Balmer proved to have a true genius for Negro education, and acquired a unique influence along the coast. Mrs. Balmer, until the failure of her health, proved of similar value in the inspiration and directing impulse she gave to the work of training African girls. Every branch of religious education along the coast has felt the touch of their influence; the service they have already rendered is invaluable. A union has been effected between the training schools (for teachers) of the Church and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies, and both are now conducted at the one Fourah Bay College, of which Mr. Balmer is Vice-Principal, while he serves as Principal of the Freetown High School, which numbers well on to 200 pupils. Mr. Balmer has made interest in and study of the Native tongues a principal feature of teaching, both in the high school and theological college. To succeed in this aim would by itself go far to turn our hundred years' success in rearing the Negro Methodist Church of redeemed slaves into an instrument for the redemption to Christ of West African Negrodom.

Another object of the Secretary's visit at this time was to bring Indian experience to bear on the conditions of housing and health in the West African coast stations. The subject has been referred to more than once in this chapter. The West Coast had a bad name amongst English Missionaries and civilians alike. Its death-roll was appalling. There was

reason to believe that the mortality was largely preventable; that, if due precautions were taken and the laws governing tropical diseases were better understood and applied, a large proportion of the deaths and disabling sicknesses occurring might be averted. Mr. Findlay found his presumptions on the subject confirmed by observation, on the voyage to Africa and after landing on shore; he went so far as to say that 'if Europeans resident in India took as little care of their lives as do men of the same class stationed in West Africa, they would die as fast.' In consultation with men of experience he framed a new set of rules for guarding health and European life upon the coast, which have been enforced on the missionary staff with advantage. By the lapse of time and the progress of medical science a great improvement may be brought about in these vital matters. Particularly the detection of the cause of malaria, and of the part played by insect life in propagating that and kindred diseases, has made an enormous difference in the facilities for combating tropical fevers and averting the most prolific causes of mortality in low-lying countries exposed to the force of the African sun. All fresh light on the subject, and the progress of geographical research and knowledge of the African continent, go to strengthen the reasons for planting the homes of English residents as high as possible above the sea-level, and setting them to work in the hinterland, and in central positions where they may live high and dry above the swampy woodlands and lagoons infested with germs of poison and death.

In view of the present position and duties of Sierra Leone Methodism, Mr. Balmer in 1908 and 1910 writes that 'there is an inherent tendency to disunion among the Sierra Leone people' to be deplored. He is disposed to regard Freetown itself as 'overchurched,' and needing to throw its religious energies upon the outlying non-Christian populace.

> The problem of membership in Africa is [he says] an inverted one. We need more workers and a more energetic policy, not solely for the sake of increasing numbers, but in order to cope with something which is a much more distressing obstacle, and that is a subtle, insistent demand that Christianity should follow the example of Muhammadanism and accommodate its practice and doctrine to alien standards. This is the great question that is facing us, and that will face us for some time. . . . The future of Africa depends upon the raising up of large numbers

of intelligent, well-informed, self-respecting Christian Native men and women.

Ground for great thankfulness and hope is present in the spirit and method in which the younger members of the Native ministry are addressing themselves to their chosen life-work.

Chief among the dangers of pagan reaction in Native Christianity, to which the above writer refers, is doubtless the rebellion *against monogamy* appearing in the coast Churches, and which finds advocates and arguments amongst educated Natives. Climate and temperament, it is alleged, make a difference which justifies a declension on the Negro's part from the Christian standard set up in the marriage law of the New Testament. The Old Testament reveals that this law was not invariable and absolute, but admitted of large exceptions and indulgences, due sometimes to 'the hardness of men's hearts' and the exigencies of circumstances. A struggle, possibly fierce and prolonged, lies before the African Churches on the question of Christian marriage and sex morality, in which the influence and training of Islam will weigh heavily upon the adverse side. Our Sierra Leone Church stands in the forefront of the battle for Christian truth and morals. It consists of men redeemed from iniquity, whose freedom has been bought at a great price, not by the blood of Christ alone, but by the lives of many of the purest and bravest Christian men and women who have dared the perils of a fatal shore, that they might bring the word of reconciliation to the slave and set free the prisoners of the darkest ignorance and the most shameful sin. No half freedom will suffice; no compromise with iniquity must enter into the covenant of Christ's redeeming grace. Let the Methodist African of the West Coast be firm and clear in his maintenance of a pure and full and equal Gospel for bond and free, for man and woman, parent and child. The deepening of the Christian life, the broadening and refining of the Christian character in our West African Churches, is a task incumbent upon them, if the Methodist people are worthily to witness for Christ and to do their work in bringing the knowledge of God's grace to their non-Christian fellow countrymen.

They have grown in Sierra Leone to the point at which this is now their commanding duty. It is theirs to lead the continent. They may no longer 'live unto themselves' nor

'die unto themselves.' If there has been a gulf fixed between them and the heathen and Muhammadans, that gulf has passed away; the strangers have crowded in upon them, and share their city and their fields; their children seek a place in their schools; they demand to know their thoughts, to understand the truth that gives them their assured superiority, to share in the fellowship with the white people from across the seas in the principles of civil order and economy, of science and the inner wisdom of life, in virtue of which the educated white man holds his superiority. Sierra Leone has become, in course of time, not simply a place of refuge and a home of emancipation for thousands of liberated Africans, but a place of justice and government, a hive of profitable industry and commerce, a seat of learning, a centre from which radiate the manifold influences of civilization and Christianity. Its men are 'citizens of no mean city,' and need to understand the dignity and responsibility of their position. They are 'a city set upon a hill,' and are called to 'let their light shine,' so that along the coast and up the hinterland men may 'see their good work' and recognize that not in vain have they been blessed with a hundred years of freedom and Gospel knowledge. 'The aborigines,' it was said some years ago, 'are very shy of the Sierra Leoneans, and loth to enter their Church.' The causes of this shyness are not upon one side alone. The members of the Church must hold out a friendly hand, and make their black brethren realize their will and power to help, their readiness to share their best privileges with the outsiders, and bring him by kindness and fellow-feeling into the fold of the Good Shepherd. This some are doing, with blessed and manifest effect. Only by Africa's sons can Africa be won for Christ; Negroes must be Christ's chief messengers to Negroes. The time has come to realize this fact in full measure. Our 7,000 black-skinned brethren in the Sierra Leone Church are agents ready to hand, who have been framed by Christ for this purpose during three generations to evangelize the millions of the British Protectorate and the adjoining countries, who are still aliens from His grace.

## II

## THE GAMBIA DISTRICT

St. Mary's Island—The Mandingoes—The Foulah Tribe—Morgan and Baker—An unfortunate Start—A better Location—A definite Policy—McCarthy's Island—The Toll of Death—William Moister—MacBrair—An educational Scheme—The Foulah Mission—Thirty Years' Work—The Roll of Honour—Henry Badger—New Stations—The Education Department—Report of W. H. Findlay—Mr. G. Armatage—The Native Ministry—A threefold Need.

In a land of notable rivers one of the finest is the River Gambia. It takes its rise in the range of hills from which issues also the Niger, and after a course of a thousand miles it reaches the Atlantic. It is more than fourteen miles wide at its mouth, and is navigable for 500 miles. In 1454 Prince Henry of Portugal sent an envoy to establish trade in this region, and its chief emporium was set up at Tancrowall, about forty miles from the mouth of the river. They had other centres farther up the river, and a considerable trade in slaves and gold was done. British traders soon followed the Portuguese, and the French also possessed trading rights at certain points on the river. In the treaty of Versailles in 1783 exclusive trading rights were given to the British, in 1816 the whole district was recognized as British, and in 1821 the Gambia Colony was definitely annexed. To occupy the country thus assigned, the island of St. Mary, about ten miles up the river, was purchased from the king of Combo.

The island of St. Mary consists of a narrow strip of sandy soil of no elevation. It has a circumference of only sixteen miles, and is separated from the mainland on one side by a narrow creek fringed with mangroves. The exuberant growth of the latter sets up a condition of more or less stagnant water which in tropical lands becomes the breeding-place of mosquitoes. Modern research has established the fact that these are the 'carriers' of the germs which set up the deadly inflammation known as malarial fever, and this last has levied

a terrible toll on those who live in such regions. It was hoped that St. Mary's Island would offer better conditions of health than could be found along the coast, and Sir Harry H. Johnston speaks of it as a more healthy region for Europeans than Sierra Leone or the Gold Coast, but at first the health statistics of the three places showed that there was little to choose between the three places in this particular.

The strongest reason for occupying the island was found in its position. It enabled the British not only to secure a suitable entrepôt for traders, but also to check the slave trade which had been actively carried on by both the French and the Portuguese. On the north-eastern extremity of the island a town quickly came into existence, and this was named 'Bathurst,' in honour of the Colonial Governor of that time. The settlement made rapid progress; substantial buildings were erected; and in 1819 a population of 800 was reported. In 1851 the population had increased to more than 5,000, and in 1871 it had reached a total of 14,000. In 1823 a further settlement was made on McCarthy's Island, about 250 miles farther up the river, this name being given in honour of the Governor of Sierra Leone, who had taken great interest in the Gambia Settlement. On the mainland the extraordinary fertility of the soil, and the ease with which it might be cultivated, would lead one to expect a large population; but at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were few signs of this. The towns were small and scattered, and the people who inhabited them were reduced to a condition of great wretchedness owing to the frequent raids of traders in slaves. The debt which Europe owes to Africa on this single count can never be paid.

After the suppression of the slave trade British merchants began to appear on the Gambia, and liberated slaves in considerable numbers were brought there by British cruisers. These had been taken from different parts of Africa, and there thus grew up on the island a population of varied tribal and linguistic characteristics. They found a common language in the extraordinary jargon which passes as 'English' on the Coast.

Of the many tribes to be found between the Gambia and Sierra Leone mention may be made of only three. Of these the most numerous and the most warlike are the Mandingoes,

so called as coming originally from Manding, a region lying about 700 miles away in the eastern highlands. They are now to be found in many independent states, and as far south as Sierra Leone, while their language is understood along the coast from the Senegal River to the mouths of the Niger. They have largely adopted the Muhammadan faith, which they observe with varying degrees of fidelity, and almost universally their faith is mixed with a large measure of superstition, the surviving element of their former paganism. They are spoken of by travellers as being generous in character and gentle in manner, and MacBrair, of whose Mission to this District we shall have much to say presently, found in them a respect for everything regarded as sacred, and, among the more intelligent, a curiosity about the truths of Christianity. They shrink, however, from all literature in Roman characters, regarding it as something supernatural—a White man's 'greegree,' or charm. They themselves use the Arabic script for any writing they may have to do, and the Scriptures in Arabic are venerated. MacBrair is of opinion that a Missionary, to be of service to these people, would require to know both Mandingo and Arabic. In early days Missionaries seem to have suffered much from the Mandingoes, and their sympathies seem to have been more engaged by the other two tribes.

Of these the Jollofs are described as a handsome race, deep black in colour, and of such varied facial expression that some have questioned whether they are pure Negroes. The balance of opinion is that they, as well as the Foulahs, are ethnologically of the negroid stock. They are industrious traders and intelligent mechanics, and socially they are mild and frank. They inhabit the country lying between Senegal and the Gambia. Those who live near the former have, through contact with the French, imbibed some amount of Roman Catholic teaching. Others lower down have come under Muhammadan influence. All are still largely pagan, and given up to animistic beliefs. They have been much oppressed by the Mandingoes.

The Foulahs are described by Mungo Park as being of tawny complexion, soft, silky hair, and pleasing features. Others speak of them as fine men, robust and courageous, very intelligent, and given to commerce, which they carry

on as far as the Gulf of Guinea. One section of the tribe is agricultural, and its members live in small groups among the Mandingoes under a sort of feudal system. They are subject to oppression from their overlords, without any possibility of appeal or redress. Their cattle make them an attractive prey to freebooters. They are pagan in religion, and for the most part degraded in person and habits. In Mr. Morgan's *Reminiscences* of his Mission to the Gambia an interesting account is given of a belief held by this tribe that they are descended from a European father, thus accounting for their lighter complexion and other features. 'Proud of their descent from a White man, their notion of superiority to the Negro is such that they will not consent to one of their daughters marrying the greatest Negro King.' 'Foulah,' however, seems to be a word of Arabic origin, signifying agriculturist, and the tribe may be accounted for on quite other lines of descent than that recorded by Mr. Morgan. Their fondness for agriculture, together with their milder manner, led Mr. Morgan to consider them hopeful subjects for evangelical effort, and he formed a plan for securing through Government a settlement for them in which they might be more independent of their Mandingo neighbours, receiving British protection until they were in a position to defend themselves. The scheme received a considerable amount of official support, and a sum of money was raised by Mr. Morgan on his return to England, but, owing to a change of Government at home, it was never fully carried out. The negotiations, however, resulted in the establishment of an extension of the Mission to McCarthy's Island.[1]

The Missionaries already at work in Sierra Leone were concerned as to the spiritual needs of the community thus being formed at the Gambia, and their eagerness to take the Gospel to them was increased by the interest taken in all philanthropic work and by the Christian solicitude of Sir Charles McCarthy.[2] He had suggested to the Rev. John Baker that the Methodists should begin a Mission at the Gambia and this suggestion was warmly received by the Society in England. The Rev. John Morgan was appointed to the Gambia at the Conference of 1820, and the Rev. John Baker[3] was instructed to meet Mr. Morgan at Bathurst. The former,

[1] See p. 126. [2] See p. 78. [3] See p. 79.

however, was delayed by fever at Sierra Leone, and Morgan found himself alone when he landed at St. Mary's Island. His impressions may be easily imagined, and are vividly portrayed in the *Reminiscences* which he afterwards published. He did not see that in God's hand he was to be used for the laying of the foundation of a great Mission in a land which seemed to him, as indeed it was, 'the glorious home of a degraded people, the splendid cover for venomous reptiles and ferocious beasts.' Kindness was shown to him by the officer commanding the Second West Indian Regiment, and the next Sunday he commenced his ministry by preaching to the soldiers and civilians who attended the service. A month later Mr. Baker arrived, and the signs of spiritual awakening were soon apparent.

The London Committee, following the recommendation of Sir Charles McCarthy, had instructed the two Missionaries to begin work at Tentabar, a hundred miles up the river, and though their own inclination was to remain at St. Mary's and follow up the work which seemed so promising, their sense of duty left them no option but to proceed to that station. Mr. Baker was, however, still suffering from the effects of fever, and Mr. Morgan proceeded alone to Tentabar, a small trading-port on the left bank of the river. A grant of land was obtained from the king of that country, but the place did not seem attractive for the purposes of a Mission station, and on his return to St. Mary's the two Missionaries decided to establish their Mission centre at Mandanaree, in the Combo country. The spot selected was on high ground overlooking the open sea, and its comparative proximity to St. Mary's offered an opportunity for visiting the latter station from time to time, and continuing the work they had begun there. The story that follows is one of great hardship patiently accepted in the name of the Master whom they served. The Missionaries built their own house, weakened though they were by recurring attacks of fever, and hampered by the ignorance and cupidity of the men for whose uplifting they laboured. As we read it we are impressed by the splendid prodigality of strength that might have been conserved for higher uses, and by the high spirit of devotion shown by these men alone among a people almost as unfriendly as the climate, accepting conditions of life that would seem intolerable to-day, and closing

their simple recital of hardship with the words that they ' had no cause for complaint.' They in their turn were ' poured forth as a libation upon the sacrifice and service of faith,' and, like another apostle, they could still rejoice.

After giving up the idea of a Mission station at Tentabar, Morgan and Baker sought a suitable locality within the territory of the Combo so that they might be able to visit St. Mary's, where already there seemed a promise of fruit. They therefore set out, as already indicated, for Mandanaree. They arrived at their destination late at night, and completely exhausted by travel, hunger, and thirst. The only lodging they could find was close to the hut of a Negro trader. At first it seemed impossible for them to get so much as a drink of water to quench their thirst, the inhabitants of the place being afraid to venture out in the dark to bring them any. At last a calabash of dirty water, ' of the colour and consistency of milk,' was procured, and with so much of refreshment they lay down to rest on the ground at the door of the trader's hut. They then proceeded to build a house, which the approach of the rainy season made imperative. The hard manual labour of clearing the bush, felling trees, and shaping the timber thus secured, fell almost entirely upon themselves, and when we realize what exertion must have been thus entailed upon the two men, one of whom was still suffering from the effects of fever, it is not to be wondered at that they should both suffer as they did. We are lost in admiration of their zeal, but it was not a ' zeal according to knowledge,' and there can be little doubt that the mortality among Missionaries on this coast was largely due to such misguided effort. On July 24, 1821, Mr. Morgan, whose splendid constitution had hitherto stood him in good stead, was attacked by fever, and Mr. Baker, himself ill in bed, advised him to proceed to St. Mary's for treatment. After incredible hardships he found a resting-place with a Mr. Charles Grant,[1] and for ten weeks his life hung on the finest balance. Mr. Baker on his recovery hurried to St. Mary's, and secured the admission of Mr. Morgan to hospital, and on his recovery he returned in a boat to Mandanaree. Some idea of the unhealthiness of the coast may be gathered from the fact that of eleven young men, of

[1] This gentleman was the true friend of our Missionaries on the Gambia, and proved himself to be as helpful as he was generous.

whom Mr. Morgan was one, who came to the Gambia three months before the rains began, no less than eight were buried while Mr. Morgan was in hospital.

By this time the house at Mandanaree had been finished, thanks to Mr. Baker's exertions. The latter had gone to the Gambia to help Mr. Morgan to commence the Mission, and the time had now come for him to take up his appointment in the West Indies, to which he had been destined. After some years in that field he finally returned to England, where he died in 1845, leaving a record of splendid service, and a memory of gracious influence which accompanied him wherever he laboured.

On January 28, 1822, the Rev. William Bell arrived at the Gambia to assist Mr. Morgan, and his arrival was a matter of great rejoicing to the latter. Mr. Morgan had by this time adopted some form of industrial Mission as the right policy to follow on the Gambia, and Mr. Bell's knowledge of agriculture made his appointment peculiarly appropriate in Mr. Morgan's eyes. But the new Missionary, apparently of splendid physique, fell an early victim to the deadly fever, and after a period of only forty-six days he died at St. Mary's on March 15.

Mr. Morgan was now again alone, but the brethren at Sierra Leone decided to send to his help the Rev. George Lane, who had arrived at that station early in 1821. He had laboured with much success at Sierra Leone among the liberated slaves, and under his ministry many had turned to the Lord. The two Missionaries took up their abode at Mandanaree, but that station became more and more unsuitable owing to the quality of the only water obtainable, and after a few months the Missionaries turned their attention again to St. Mary's, where they had by that time two preaching-places, a small school, and an infant Society. But on September 7 Mr. Lane was stricken down with fever. He returned to Sierra Leone, in the hope that there he might recover, but on March 27 in the following year the fever returned with great violence, and a few days after he too laid down his life for Africa.

Left alone again, Mr. Morgan struggled on at Mandanaree for some months. Before Mr. Baker's departure the two Missionaries were convinced that the true centre of their work was St. Mary's, and only the fear of being misjudged in England

led them to continue working at Mandanaree. In 1822 Mr. Morgan considered that the silence of the home authorities on the question of his removing from a station the unhealthiness of which was increasingly manifest left the matter to his own discretion. He therefore finally left Mandanaree and took up his residence with his friend, Mr. C. Grant, at St. Mary's. A school was opened, and six hours a day were devoted to teaching, reading, writing, and the elements of English grammar. In the evenings the Missionary left the more adult slaves who attended the school to be instructed by his servant, while he went into the forest to preach. On his return he again took up the task of teaching. The fruit of such devoted labour was soon seen in a little Church of thirty-five Negroes, many of whom were truly converted Christians, and in the fact that boys from his school were found eligible for responsible and creditable positions in both Church and State. In 1917 the returns of Church membership show a total of 736, a goodly return for the seed so faithfully sown by a most devoted Missionary.

Apart from the restrictions imposed upon him by climatic conditions, the Missionary found himself confronted by difficulties not uncommon among those who would seek to bring the heathen into the dignity and freedom of Christian life. Mr. Morgan records one case which may be taken as typical. A man sought admission to the Church, but was told that he could not be admitted unless he married the woman with whom he was living. His reply is recorded by Mr. Morgan: 'That be very hard, Massa; me never wanted that woman; my master make me take her. Suppose me marry her Christian fashion; next week, perhaps, master send her to Senegal and sell her. I never see her again; then White man's law say, I must not marry another while she is alive.'

While Mr. Baker was on board ship sailing to the West Indies he wrote a long and weighty letter to the Secretaries at home in which the outline of a definite policy for the Gambia appears. In this he urges that the mission centre should be St. Mary's, since there was already there the nucleus of a Christian Church, and the difficulty of ministering to this, especially during the rains, was all but insurmountable. He also suggests the adoption of the excellent rule that in such

a country as West Africa no Missionary should ever be sent to a station where he would find himself alone. This is advanced on both moral and physical grounds, and his arguments hold good even to the present time. He then contends that Missionaries should give their first attention to learning the language of the people among whom they are to labour, and the character of Missionary effort in up-country stations should have industry as its chief feature, and that the form of industry most suitable to the Gambia region was agriculture. He urges that the language most likely to be useful was that spoken by the Jollofs, whom he describes as ' the mildest and most noble race of Africans I have yet seen,' and he considers that they hold out most hope of an adequate response to the appeal of the Gospel. His last suggestion is that a substantial Mission-house, to be built of stone, should be erected at St. Mary's, that a married man should be stationed there, and that there should be accommodation for a young Missionary arriving in the country to live in the same house.

The letter is one of wise counsel, and if it could have been accepted as the policy of the Missionary Society, the considerable initial outlay of money entailed would have brought in a full return both in the effectiveness of missionary effort and in the conservation of precious lives.

In March, 1823, Major Grant, the Commandant at St. Mary's, sailed up the river accompanied by Mr. Morgan, who thought the opportunity a favourable one for securing an extension of missionary work. After going as far as the falls of Barracunda, nearly six hundred miles from the mouth of the river, the Commandant fixed upon Lemon Island, about half way up the river, as offering a suitable trading centre. The island was afterwards named McCarthy's Island, in honour of the Governor at Sierra Leone, whose name appears so frequently in the chapter describing our work at that station. In a letter from Mr. Morgan dated June 6, 1823, he complains of the silence of the Secretaries on the proposal he had laid before them that a Mission station should be established on the island named above. He urges its occupation as offering a suitable centre for an industrial mission, and providing a means of offering asylum to those whose confession of Christ would entail privation, suffering, and possibly death from their Muhammadan neighbours. A site covering

300 acres[1] had been offered him by the Commandant, and Mr. Morgan advised its immediate acceptance. The delay in securing permission resulted in an inferior site being obtained.

In April of the following year, however, the Rev. and Mrs. Hawkins arrived at St. Mary's, thus setting Mr. Morgan free to fulfil his heart's desire, and begin work at McCarthy's Island; but after a month he was compelled to return to St. Mary's, the coming of the rains having brought on another attack of fever. Here he was able to be of great assistance to Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins, who were also attacked, and in March, 1825, he finally sailed for England, after four years of most devoted service, under conditions which would have deterred all but those who 'count all things but loss that they may gain Christ and be found in Him.' He left at St. Mary's a Church of thirty members, one of whom had begun to preach.

With the close of Morgan's faithful ministry in the Gambia region we may pause in the recording of events to consider one or two aspects of this field. The first point to be noticed is that so long as our work is limited to British territory the field is a comparatively narrow one. While our Government claims the riparian territory of the Gambia for 250 miles of its course on either side of the river, not more than six or seven miles belong to the British. On either side of this narrow strip the country is held by the French. The efforts of our Missionaries for the most part have been limited to ministering to the descendants of the liberated Africans. With the exception of McCarthy's Island no Mission station has been opened in the hinterland. There has been no great numerical increase in Church members. The Centenary finds us with a membership of little over 800, and this number has been practically stationary during the last two decades of the century. Muhammadan influence possibly accounts for the slow growth of the Church in this area, and until our Mission makes a strong and definite movement in the direction of work among Muhammadans there seems little prospect of increase. The temptation to concentrate effort upon fields from which a large and immediate harvest may be reached is doubtless strong. But the lives laid down upon the 'stricken field,' and the fact that Methodism is the only Protestant evangelistic agency at work in the region, forbid all thought of withdrawal.

[1] This was later increased to 600 acres.

It is to be hoped that in the near future fuller provision will be made for this field, in which case the magnificent waterway may become the means of penetrating far inland and reaching through an indigenous ministry tribes that lie far beyond the bounds of British territory. It is likely that Morgan's instinct for an industrial Mission largely agricultural indicates the true line of advance, and if to this could be added an efficient medical Mission—the most effective agency among Muhammadans—the future may reveal in this region also a strong and fruitful Church.

In 1828 the Rev. Richard Marshall and his wife arrived at Bathurst to take charge of the Gambia Mission. He was a strong, able, and devoted man, who had done vigorous work in the country districts of Northumberland, and his wife was willing and competent to assist him in ministering to the women and children in his new station. But in August, 1830, he was stricken with fever, and died after an illness of four days. His wife returned to England, but died at Bristol in October of the same year. The Gambia station was thus left for some time without a Missionary, but in March, 1831, the desolate flock received with unbounded joy the Rev. William Moister,[1] who on arriving at Bathurst visited McCarthy's Island, and this visit was repeated twice in the two following years. For some years McCarthy's Island was the most interesting station in the West African area, and attempts to strengthen the Mission were made by sending out to Moister's assistance the Revs. Thomas Dove and William F. Fox. The latter took charge of the Mission at St. Mary's, while Dove was designated for work among the Foulahs, a tribe which had attracted the attention of Dr. Coke and the African Society fifty years before. After three years' service on the island Mr. Dove and his wife returned for furlough to England, and on his return he was appointed to Sierra Leone. Among those who had, through the faithful ministry of John Morgan, received the freedom with which Christ makes men free was a young Jalouf, who had received the name 'Cupidon' from the French at Goree. He proved an apt and ready student,

[1] In June, 1833, Mr. Moister's health necessitated his return to England, and he took up work in the Ipswich Circuit. Soon after this he was sent, as we have seen, to the West Indies, where he laboured until 1848. In 1850 he was appointed 'General Superintendent' of the Missions in the Cape of Good Hope District, where we shall meet him again.

and after serving for some time as interpreter was made a teacher, and afterwards became a Local Preacher. When Moister visited McCarthy's Island the second time he took Cupidon with him, and left him there in charge of a school. In a letter from Mr. Moister, written at the close of the year 1832, he speaks of the success which followed on this appointment, and of the formation of a Christian Society as well as a school on the island. The annual Report for 1834 shows that, in addition to Mr. Dove, John Cupidon and Pierre Salah were appointed assistant Missionaries, and with them were associated four 'salaried teachers.' The development of the work is described by Mr. Dove in a letter to the Society written in 1834, in which he says:

> During the quarter we have had a most blessed revival. I have married 30 couples who would no longer live in a state of concubinage; baptized 92 adults and several children; and likewise admitted 78 persons on trial, of whom many, I am happy to say, have experienced a knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins and are ornaments to their profession.

Early in 1835 the Rev. and Mrs. Wilkinson arrived at Bathurst to take up work in this Mission, greatly to the relief of Mr. Fox, who was then far from well. He came back to England for furlough in the middle of the year, but returned in December, taking with him the Rev. R. M. MacBrair,[1] who shortly after proceeded to McCarthy's Island, in order that he might undertake the translation of the Scriptures into one or more of the Native languages for the benefit of the Foulahs and Mandingoes. MacBrair had served as a Missionary in Egypt and Malta, and it was thought that his knowledge of Arabic would be of service in this work. In the Society's Report of 1836 minute instructions governing the work of this Missionary appear. Much sympathy for the work among the Foulahs was felt in England, and friends in Southampton, led by Dr. Lindoe, had offered the sum of £1,000 in addition to their usual contributions in favour of literary work among them. The 'Instructions' are minute and are ably drawn up, revealing a wide outlook on the possibilities of extension of missionary work in this area. They are probably to be attributed to John Beecham, who had particularly interested himself

[1] See p. 423.

in the conditions of the West African coast, and was perhaps as thoroughly master of the questions connected with the Negro slave-trade as any man in England.

MacBrair decided to begin with the Mandingo language, as this was spoken by the majority of the Foulahs, although they have a dialect of their own. His work was considerably interrupted by ill-health, the difficulty of obtaining suitable food, and, later on, disturbances which broke out among the people, in which the house of the assistant Missionary had been destroyed by a mob. In 1836 he returned to England, and shortly after published through the ever-generous aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew in Mandingo. A grammar of that language, with vocabularies, was also published by the Missionary Society about the same time. This was a hopeful beginning of a work the importance of which can never be exaggerated. The Report of 1837 seems, however, to indicate that there had been some measure of disappointment in the work among the Foulahs. It states that 'Many circumstances combine to strengthen the probability that the influence of the Mission will not be brought to bear upon the Foulahs until the Gospel shall have been introduced to the tribes in whose territory they dwell, and by whom they have been kept in a state of subjection.'

MacBrair also drew up a complete scheme for the Foulah Mission, around which so many hopes were gathered. It was elaborate, far-seeing, and complete, and he closes its delineation with the words, 'This would be doing the work in earnest.' His scheme, however, was never carried out in detail, the reason being doubtless the lack of both men and money. It finds a place in our record as affording the type of such a Missionary institution as would be peculiarly helpful in Africa, and it may be noted that apart from the work of preaching and the pastoral care of converts its outstanding characteristics are education and industry. The institution which this able Missionary planned is as follows:

1. The building of a village on some part of the 600 acres granted to the Society by the Government. This village was to be placed under wholesome laws and regulations, to which its inhabitants should pay implicit deference.

2. Education was to begin with infancy under the direction of an

English teacher and his wife, assisted by pious and intelligent Native assistants, a boarding department being set up for the benefit of children who might be sent from the homes of the neighbouring kings and chiefs, or Native merchants of the Gambia. There was to be a high school department, under the direct supervision of a resident Missionary, assisted by a Native Missionary. This was with a view to the training of teachers and Missionaries, and to finish the education of youths of rank and influence. There was also to be appointed a manager, who should relieve the Missionary of all secular concerns in both school and village. It was hoped that the Government would place in this institution all children liberated from slavery, making a grant to the Missionary Society in return for their maintenance and training.

3. Minute instructions follow with reference to the management of the village. These are characterized by shrewdness and good sense. They refer to such matters as sanitation, as well as to the moral conduct of the inhabitants. Details of school management follow, in which even the school hours are fixed. Industrial education is made prominent for both boys and girls. Boys from the high school department were, after school hours, to be handed over to the care of the ' manager ' for instruction in arts and agriculture, and these are fully detailed.

4. It was also strongly recommended that a school for Mandingoes be started in the Native town adjoining Fort George, and that an attempt be made to connect this with Mandingo towns on the mainland.

5. The financing of the scheme is then set forth. Expenses are divided under two heads, ' Incipient ' and ' Ordinary.' It is estimated that the former ' at an outmost calculation ' would amount to £500, while the latter—apart from the maintenance of the Missionary and his assistant, who would be supported as before by the Missionary Society—would amount to £450.

Mr. MacBrair then goes on to recommend the taking up of additional Mission stations as follow:

1. A married Missionary and Assistant at St. Mary's.
2. An Assistant at Fort Bullen.
3. A married Missionary and Assistant at McCarthy's Island.
4. An assistant Missionary at the same place, who should be wholly devoted to work among the Mandingoes.
5. A single Missionary and Assistant at Jillifree, and two single Missionaries at Fattetenda.
6. An Assistant Missionary of the Jollof race at Cower, between Jillifree and McCarthy's Island, this being ' the key to the Jollof country.'

He calls special attention to Fattetenda as being ' the key to the interior.' This place lies 250 miles farther up the river, at the falls of the Gambia. There can be little doubt that if such a scheme could have been taken up and *maintained*,

in spite of all fluctuations in the home income and in the supply of Missionaries, there would have been, with God's blessing, a remarkable extension of the Church in the Gambia area.[1]

At the close of the year 1836 there were 535 members in the Gambia District, with 230 children in the schools. The following year, however, was perhaps the most costly in life. The mortality among Europeans was exceedingly high. Professional men and merchants, together with public officers, were struck down in numbers, the Governor of the Colony among them. 'Not less than one half of the Europeans then residing at St. Mary's were in a few short weeks numbered with the dead.' Along the coast our Missionaries suffered severely. The newly started Mission at Cape Coast was left without a Missionary, four having died within a few weeks. On the Gambia Mr. Wilkinson fell a victim to the prevalent epidemic. Mr. Fox, on the Gambia, and Mr. Sanders, at Sierra Leone, were the only missionary survivors along the whole coast. It is to the glory of the Church that in spite of such terrible mortality volunteers have always been forthcoming, and towards the end of November the Rev. and Mrs. Swallow and the Rev. Thomas Wall joined Mr. Fox. Mr. Wall remained at St. Mary's, while Mr. and Mrs. Swallow proceeded with Mr. Fox to McCarthy's Island. By this time there were a number of Native Missionaries at work on the Gambia. In addition to the names of John Cupidon and Pierre Salah, which we have already mentioned, there now appears in the Report the name of William Juff, who remained at St. Mary's, though originally designated for McCarthy's Island. In the latter station educational and industrial work now began to assume considerable proportions, and such helpers were invaluable to the European Missionary in handling the different classes of Natives, in exploring the country, and in dealing with the chiefs and Native traders. They were as eyes and

[1] Unfortunately while MacBrair was associated with Dove at McCarthy's Island there was constant friction between the two men. The latter was in frequent and acrimonious conflict with magistrates and other Government officials, and when he left the station MacBrair found that his own relations with Government were made most difficult by reason of his former association with Dove. Evidently during this period the officials of the Colony were becoming seriously concerned at the uncompromising attitude of Methodists towards slavery and other social evils. So far from continuing to help, they now began to harass and oppose their operations. Their animosity culminated in an attack upon the house of John Cupidon. This led to the withdrawal from McCarthy's Island of both MacBrair and John Cupidon. The former shortly after returned to England, and after some time entered the Congregational ministry.

hands to the European Missionary, whom they watched over as though they were his children, and whom they saved from numberless mistakes and losses. To the faithfulness, assiduity, and companionship of these first Native helpers the Gambia Mission owed much of its success. In 1838 the 'Southampton Committee,' which had specially interested itself in the Foulah Mission, completed the five years for which they had promised to support it. They had nobly fulfilled their contract, and in handing over the administration of the Mission to the Society they paid the balance of the subscriptions raised—amounting to more than £500—to the general funds.

In 1838 the Mission had to deplore the loss of Mr. Wall, who had been appointed to St. Mary's; but in November of that year Mr. and Mrs. Moss arrived at McCarthy's Island, and a little later Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson arrived at St. Mary's. Mrs. Moss, however, died within a month of her arrival, and in September, 1839, both Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson had laid down their lives in the service to which they had given themselves. By that time Mr. Fox had returned to England, but on receiving the sad news he returned, bringing with him his wife and child and the Rev. W. and Mrs. James, the latter of whom went on to McCarthy's Island, to which station they had been appointed. With these went also a schoolmaster, Mr. Crowley; for the Missionary Society, in taking over the administration of the Foulah Mission from the Southampton Committee, had drawn up certain principles of administration. They declared their intention to commence an institution at McCarthy's Island 'for educating the sons of native kings and powerful chiefs, as well as others,' and also to send out two individuals, one an agriculturist and the other a mechanic, 'to take the management of the civilization department, and form plans for a more extended system of operation.' In pursuance of this resolution Mr. Spencer arrived at McCarthy's Island in 1839 with a supply of agricultural instruments. He was accompanied by his wife, who it was hoped would assist in educating the children in the girls' school. As Mr. Spencer was a Local Preacher this reinforcement of the staff promised to be one of special value, but both he and his wife suffered so much from fever shortly after their arrival that, to their great distress, they were compelled to return to England with Mr. Fox in 1839. This promising development

of work was thus held up until a further appointment could be made. The bereavements of the Mission were not yet at an end, for in July, 1840, Mr. James died suddenly at McCarthy's Island, and the station was again left without a Missionary. In the later months of the same year the wife and child of Mr. Fox also died. The year 1841 saw the return of Mr. and Mrs. Swallow to McCarthy's Island, and the departure of Mr. Moss, who after a short time in a home Circuit was appointed to the West Indies, where he laboured until 1850.

In 1841 we find Mr. Fox distressed at the failure of the Committee to send out sufficient reinforcements for the Gambia. Mr. English had been transferred to the West Indies, and Mr. Crowley, the schoolmaster appointed to take charge of the institution at McCarthy's Island, had resigned his office to take up Government work at Sierra Leone. In place of these only the Rev. S. Symons had arrived. Mr. Fox appeals for further help, and promises that if the staff on the Gambia be strengthened 'before many years have elapsed you will, I trust, have a Missionary station at the great emporium of Africa—Timbuctoo.' The Rev. Matthew Godman and the Rev. G. Parsonson arrived in the spring of 1843, and shortly afterwards Mr. Swallow, whose wife and child had died, and Mr. Fox, returned to England. In 1844 Mr. Symons laid down his life in his Master's service. Death found him undismayed, with an unquenched desire for the winning of Africa for Christ. His place was taken by the Rev. Benjamin Chapman. In 1847 the latter was obliged to return to England on account of ill-health, and was almost immediately followed by Mr. and Mrs. Godman for the same reason, so that Mr. Parsonson was for some time the only Missionary in the Gambia area. He was removed to South Africa in 1848. That same year witnessed a considerable change in the staff at the Gambia. Pierre Salah and John Cupidon, who had both rendered long-continued and faithful service, retired from the work, and at the Conference of that year it was decided to appoint the Rev. Henry Badger, who had then come to England from Sierra Leone, as Superintendent, and to allow him to bring with him a reinforcement of Native agents from that Mission. By that time the Rev. George Meadows had reached McCarthy's Island, but Mr. and Mrs. Davie, who had been sent to take up school work at that

station, were compelled to return to England. Mr. Badger brought with him from Sierra Leone Mr. George Leigh, who had been trained in the institution connected with that Mission, and Mr. Joseph May, also a Native of Africa, who had received some training in London. The former remained at St. Mary's and the latter was appointed to McCarthy's Island. In the Report of 1850 both of these were stationed at the latter place, and Mr. Meadows had joined Mr. Badger at St. Mary's. At the close of the half-century there were 476 members returned in the Mission, with 136 on trial for membership. The number of scholars in the schools was 521.

In looking back over the thirty years that had elapsed since John Morgan began his work in this District we are at once impressed by the heavy mortality among our Missionaries, and the frequent failure in health of those who survived. This meant the absence of anything like continuous service. No Missionary was able to acquire the personal influence which is the great asset of those who labour in such fields. That our Missionaries accomplished what they did speaks eloquently for gifts and graces, which, owing to climatic influences, never came to full fruition. The utmost honour is due to the men who, under such circumstances, laboured as they did, and with such success. Another comment to be made at this point is that in spite of the fact that life in the Gambia region meant in most cases a few months of arduous toil under depressing circumstances, followed only too often by an untimely death, there were always found in the Church at home those who were ready to fill the place of men fallen on the field. They counted not their lives dear unto them, and while that spirit is found in the Christian Church there can be no doubt as to the ultimate issue, and the kingdoms of this world will become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.

In recording the history of this Mission no attempt has been made to depict the character of individual Missionaries. To do so would be to fill these pages with obituary notices. Yet no record would be complete if some reference were not made to that which alone accounts for a service which has been so fruitful in the history of the Church in Africa. If in circumstances of such appalling difficulty the now firmly rooted Church in Africa exhibits the gifts and graces of the Spirit of God, the secret of the Divine growth can only be found in the character

of the seed sown, and in the spiritual endowment of those who sowed with heart and hand, that were lavish in that which they brought. The lives of these earliest Missionaries reveal a simplicity of faith and a passion of devotion. Among them were men of considerable mental force and culture, but side by side with them stood men and women not learned save in the things of the Spirit, and these, linked together by ' one equal temper of heroic hearts,' and by one spirit of consecration in their Master's service, laid deep and strong the great foundations of the Christian Church in Africa. Theirs was

> No tawdry rule of kings,
> But toil of serf and sweeper ;
> The tale of common things.

Under climatic conditions that made physical effort perilous to life they cleared the forest and built with their own hands the simple temples of the Living God. Instant in season and out of season, they proclaimed the Gospel which was the burden of their souls. Their hearts overflowed with compassion for the benighted people to whom they were the ministers of light. They tended their brethren in sickness with a woman's tenderness, and turned from their graves to take up again their burden, now doubled by the death of colleague and friend. In the hour of death there were but two notes in the song they sang ; one was that of tender concern for the flock they had shepherded, and the other was that of their own trust in Christ.

These are the notes of every true Missionary Church, and so long as they are heard running through ' the still, sad music of humanity ' the hope of larger, fuller life can never perish. More subtle problems await the Missionary Church of to-day than those which confronted the martyrs of West Africa, and their solution will be found precisely where these Missionaries found them. The love of mankind in Jesus Christ will solve the problems of the future as they solved the problems of the past.

During the superintendency of the Rev. Henry Badger the Gambia Mission made good progress, though it showed no startling numerical increase in Church membership. Mr. Badger was greatly assisted by his wife, whose work in the school was most admirable. Her death in 1851 was all the

more deplorable. In the West Indies, Sierra Leone, and finally in the Gambia Mission, she had throughout her married life freely given herself in the service of African women. When her death was followed by the removal of his colleague under charges of immoral conduct, Mr. Badger's grievous bereavement must have been almost beyond the limit of endurance. In 1852 he returned to work at home. Before doing so, however, he had endeavoured to open another Mission station at Barra, and Mr. Meadows was appointed there in the hope that the way would be opened for work in Berinding, the city of the King of Barra ; but on the return to England of Mr. Badger, Mr. Meadows was appointed to be General Superintendent at St. Mary's, and Barra was left without a Missionary. Mr. Meadows strongly urged the opening of a station at Cape St. Mary's, and a school was opened there in the hope of attracting the Mandingoes, a race largely Muhammadan in religion. This school was not successful, and was soon closed. In letters from the Rev. John Bridgart and from Mr. Baeza, the schoolmaster at Bathurst, it is evident that there were no facilities for Missionaries to acquire a knowledge of the Mandingo language. Such work as they attempted was done by means of an interpreter, ' a method,' as Mr. Bridgart quite correctly says, ' which is open to many objections.' This devoted Missionary, whose character seems to have impressed all who knew him, died at sea on his second voyage to England in 1858.

At McCarthy's Island in 1854 the Rev. Joseph May, who had been in charge of that station, returned to Sierra Leone, and his place was taken by the Rev. Charles Knight, also from that Mission. He reports the work in his new station as being ' half a century behind that at Sierra Leone,' and complains of the dilapidation and insanitary condition of the Mission premises.

Sickness continued to be the great obstacle in the way of continuous service. In 1857 both Messrs. Meadows and Bridgart returned to England, and only a single Missionary—the Rev. A. J. Gurney—had been sent to replace them. Charles Knight was still at McCarthy's Island, and a Native teacher looked after the small Society at Barra. About this time the Jesuits attempted to start work at Bathurst, and secured a Government grant of £100 a year in the interests of their industrial work. After three months, however, the

artisans they had brought from France returned, and our people, with the Bible in their hands, were proof against their efforts to proselytize. At the same time the Romanists had one great advantage over our Protestant Missionaries in their command of the local vernacular. In a letter from the Rev. J. Fieldhouse, dated October, 1876, this matter is referred to in the following passage :

> Few of the people round us can understand the English language well. The Roman Catholics have not been slow to perceive this, and the consequence is that they have a powerful hold upon the Jollof people that we can only long for and lament over. Regularly do they have services conducted in the vernacular, and as I witness the people pressing in my spirit is grieved. I feel jealous for the honour of our Lord Christ. Moreover, they have their catechism and other works printed and tabulated, so that their tenets are beginning to obtain a firm place in the minds of the people. Can we stand by and see all this unmoved ?

Mr. Fieldhouse here puts his finger upon the weak spot in our Mission work in this District. Partly through the frequent failure in health among our Missionaries, and partly through the fact that their number was never large enough to enable them to compass the many different forms of service demanded of them, they were unable to speak to the people in their own language. But until this is done no foreign Missionary can hope to get his message home to the heart of his people. An insufficient staff in the Gambia Mission may well account for the comparatively slow progress of the Church in this area. The decade 1860–70 shows no great advance in the numerical returns. At the beginning of this period there were 812 Church members in the Mission area, of whom more than 600 were found in St. Mary's. In 1870 there were 715, the number at St. Mary's remaining about the same, while a considerable decrease was reported from McCarthy's Island. The number of scholars in the schools remained about the same. At the beginning of the decade the death of the Rev. Richard Cooper is recorded, but happily there was no other death during the period. Of Mr. Cooper it is said, ' The records of this Society are happily rich in instances of patient and self-denying devotion ; but they will scarcely supply one more exemplary or more affecting than that of Richard Cooper, who had no rest in his spirit until he reached Africa, and who literally

counted not his life dear unto himself so that he might finish his course with joy.' But though this was the only loss by death, no less than five Missionaries came and went during the ten years, the average period of service being two years and a quarter.

In the Report for the year 1860 reference is made to a letter addressed by the Governor of the Colony, Colonel D'Arcy, to the Superintending Missionary, the Rev. J. H. Peet. The Governor was anxious that the inhabitants of the District on the island known as 'Cape St. Mary's' should have opportunities for religious instruction. He says:

> Since the territory has been ceded and peace and order established, many of the Natives have settled in the villages under British rule, and are occupied in cultivating the soil. They are improving their means of livelihood, and acquiring more European wants than heretofore; but the want of religious instruction and moral training is a lamentable drawback in civilization. At one of the villages, Bakkow-Konko, many discharged soldiers and liberated Africans are located, and it is really distressing to hear their children, speaking our language, left without the means of education of any kind.

Nothing seems to have been done in response to this appeal, and in 1870 there were only two stations, St. Mary's and McCarthy's Island. The station at Barra had been given up. It appears again in the report of 1871, but with the unhappy word 'Vacant' attached to the name. Apparently no teacher had been found for the school, and the work was being carried on under great difficulty. In 1868 the Rev. Benjamin Tregaskis, whose service in the West Indies and at Sierra Leone has been already recorded, was appointed General Superintendent of both the latter Mission and also of the Gambia, but in 1871 the only European Missionary in the District was the Rev. H. J. Quilter, who was stationed at St. Mary's with a Native Minister, the Rev. York F. Clement, to assist him.

In December, 1872, Mr. Quilter was obliged to leave hurriedly owing to an outbreak of yellow fever, which proved fatal to several Europeans, and early in 1873 Mr. Tregaskis visited the Gambia, taking with him his much trusted colleague, the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey from Sierra Leone. Some two months were spent in carefully considering affairs on the Gambia before they returned. Mr. Halligey may thus claim to be

the only Missionary who has had the honour of serving in each of the four West African fields.

About this time, however, a fresh attempt was made to reopen the work at Mandanaree in the Combo region, and efforts were also made to reach the Serias, a wild pagan tribe employed at Bathurst as labourers. The numerical returns, however, showed no material alteration. Circumstances at McCarthy's Island were very different from those that obtained when that station was first opened. There were then considerable civil and military establishments on the island, but with the subsequent withdrawal of the troops both industry and trade fell off, considerable migration on the part of the more intelligent set in towards Bathurst, while others sought trading facilities at other points on the river. Stations visited by MacBrair and Fox had been laid waste in tribal wars, and it became apparent that a ' River Mission ' ought to be established if those who had entered the Church were to be followed up. The great cause of the comparative defect, however, is ascribed to the failure to secure adequate education and training for the youth of the Church. Where such reliance had been placed upon a Native agency it is extraordinary that greater attempts in this direction were not made.

In 1876, however, a very hopeful start was made in this direction. Not only do we find two Ministers—the Rev. John Badcock and the Rev. George Adcock—stationed at Bathurst, the latter of the two giving special attention to McCarthy's Island, but the Rev. James Fieldhouse was also appointed to this station to carry on educational work. In 1875 an institution was opened for training Missionary candidates and pupil teachers, and the prospect seemed considerably brighter, though of course some years would pass before the value of such work could appear. Most unfortunately, however, Mr. Fieldhouse was obliged to return to England in July, 1878, and his successor, the Rev. R. Heslam, was only three months on the Gambia before he too returned. So difficult was it to secure anything like continuity of service on this field. Two notable exceptions, however, are to be found in John Badcock and George Adcock, both of whom were able to remain at work for three years, each becoming in turn Chairman of the District. The former had served in the West

Indies for seventeen years before his appointment to the Gambia, and after his retirement from the latter field he returned to the West Indies as Chairman of the Eastern Conference until 1890, having thus accomplished a long and fruitful service on the Mission-field. Adcock, too, proved himself to be a Missionary of great ability, which appeared again in his service in English Circuits. In 1878 Henry Lamb, who had not been in the field two full years, died in the service which has claimed so many precious lives.

In 1878 the annual report shows a considerable number of new stations occupied by catechists, with a Native assistant Missionary at Cape St. Mary's, and Mr. Fieldhouse in charge of the education department. In 1879 the Rev. W. T. Pullen commenced a term of service which, under the providence of God, was to continue for more than six years.

In the same year the Rev. Robert Dixon was appointed to take charge of the education department, and after a first term of three years' duration he went back to the Gambia in 1905, returning to England finally in 1909. He was able during his term of service to translate into the Jollof language three of the Gospels, the catechism, and a number of hymns, not the least valuable part of his service. In 1877 the Gambia District was administered independently of Sierra Leone, the Rev. John Badcock being Chairman, but in 1878 it again became a Sectional District, under the general superintendency of the Rev. Matthew Godman, of Sierra Leone, and continued to be so administered during the decade 1880 to 1890. During this period the Church membership increased from 650 to 731, the whole of which was found at St. Mary's, and many stations opened with both hope and promise had been given up. The causes of this are to be found in the migratory character of the people along the river banks, and in the loss by death of Missionaries, both European and Native. Most deplorable of all is the disappearance of the promising education department. After the retirement to England of the Rev. Robert Dixon that department appears in the annual report with 'One to be sent' following. In 1884 'An Agent' is the description of the provision made for it, and in 1886 it disappears altogether from the report. In 1887 a Native assistant Missionary takes charge of the high school at St. Mary's, but in 1890 that also vanishes from the records. In view

of the importance to this field of adequate training for the Native ministry, so often declared to be the first essential in any attempt to evangelize the adjacent tribes, such a record creates in us the utmost regret. The deepening of spiritual life in the members of the Church, and their zeal and generosity in the building of their chapels, are indications for which we may devoutly give thanks to God, but the failure to sustain an adequate educational agency was a feature of this period which is much to be deplored. The removal by death of two young Missionaries, the Rev. A. H. Clegg and the Rev. J. W. H. Stead, both men of deep piety and of the utmost devotion to Christ, was another depressing incident of the decade, though we notice an increase in the number of years during which Missionaries were able to remain at work, when once they had passed through the perils of acclimatization. Messrs. Pullen, Feneley, Williams, and Pool were able to spend far more than the average number of years in the Mission.

The next ten years saw the withdrawal of all European Missionaries from this District, the work being entrusted to two African Ministers stationed at St. Mary's. They worthily upheld the cause left to their care, so much so that the Committee in 1894 expressed itself as well satisfied with the way in which they had conducted affairs. During the decade the Mission became ' more than self supporting,' but it is questionable whether this fact was a matter of congratulation to the Church at home, for it meant that effective work was being done only in the one station of St. Mary's. At McCarthy's Island, where the work had been begun with such high hopes, it was reported that ' everything was in ruins,' and the returns of Church membership, outside of St. Mary's, showed a steady decline, until in 1898 there were only 58 members returned as existing in the several out-stations. At St. Mary's there were 611.

It is to be remembered that while the causes of decline mentioned above continued to exist, the Society was faced with a diminished income on the one hand and with innumerable calls from newly opened fields which promised a greater measure of fruitfulness. India, Burma, and China called loudly for permission to advance at the very moment when, owing to the deplorable ' controversy ' of this period, the Society was straitened for want of funds. In 1894 the Rev. R. H. Williams

arrived from England, and was received by the Church at Bathurst with great rejoicing, but the work at St. Mary's alone was as much as he could effectively accomplish. Such stations as Barra Point and British Combo 'dwindled into insignificance,' while McCarthy's Island was visited by locusts, followed by famine, and the population continued to migrate. Mr. Williams served at St. Mary's until 1902, and with the faithful co-operation of such African Ministers as the Revs. J. W. King and F. H. Johnson was enabled to maintain a Church there whose spiritual growth gave abundant cause for thanksgiving. In a very illuminating letter from Mr. Williams he surveys the whole of the Gambia Mission-field, and refers to the original intention to establish an Industrial Mission at McCarthy's Island.

> If we wish to give a permanent form of Christianity to these people, that is the line along which we shall be obliged to work in future. Unless we can gather the children into schools where they can be entirely under the control of the Mission for a number of years' successive training in Christian principles and practice, I am convinced after four years' experience of this place that we shall do next to no good with a continuation of the present system.

Mr. Williams also refers to the crying need for an instalment of a medical Mission.

> A medical Missionary with his head quarters at McCarthy's Island would effect an entrance into the prevailing heathenism such as would take the ordinary Missionary generations to make.

The whole letter reveals a broad and statesman-like grasp of the missionary situation on the Gambia, and indicates the true lines of advance for the future.

During the last decade of the period covered by this History the general features of missionary work in the Gambia region remained unchanged except in one important particular, to which reference will be made presently. The Church at St. Mary's shows a steady but not a phenomenal increase, the total number of Church members remaining under 800, and, unfortunately, the number of members in the country districts never rising higher than 90. Occasionally the records indicate the opening of a new station, but the hopes so abundant in its opening were never fulfilled. Towards the close of 1901

the Rev. W. H. Findlay, at that time one of the Missionary Secretaries, visited the District, and while he fully acknowledges the strength of the Church in Bathurst, where he found two flourishing town congregations, with day schools maintained by the people themselves, he goes on to speak of 'the gulf that separates the Church from the indigenous population.' Whereas at Lagos and on the Gold Coast the strong Churches are united by race and language with the still heathen people among whom they live, and with the tribes farther inland, in Sierra Leone and in the Gambia regions success has had very little effect upon the tribes around, and in the report of 1902 it is recorded that during the year under review there had not been a single case of adult baptism. Mr. Findlay speaks of the Gambia as resembling 'a hypodermic needle through which the powerful medicine of the Gospel may reach the vast and otherwise inaccessible regions in the French sphere of influence.' But by the end of the year 1913 there was little to indicate that any great effort had been made to evangelize the tribes in the hinterland. Mr. Findlay considered that

> two missionaries, free to devote themselves to the task, could, with the help of such Native workers as they would in time gather about them, effectively preach the Gospel throughout all the towns and villages of the Dependency; and we cannot too soon set ourselves to fulfil this obvious and unshared responsibility.

The Government of the Protectorate has always shown itself sympathetic towards missionary operations, and in 1902 an offer was made of a yearly grant of £300 if the Society would maintain an industrial school at Bathurst. In response to this Mr. G. Armatage was sent out from England. From its first inception this work has been most successful, and within a year the earnings of the school, together with the Government grant, sufficed to meet all its expenses. Boys admitted to the school were bound down to serve as apprentices for a term of four years, guarantors being responsible for their good behaviour, and a small amount of pocket-money being allowed. At the end of his apprenticeship the successful student found himself provided with a set of tools and a certificate as to character and ability which ensured him good employment. This system was found to work with great success. The value of such an institution was seen, not only in the efficiency

of the workmen turned out of the school, but also in the character of the boys, brought as they were under distinct Christian influence.

Towards the end of the period, too, an excellent report of the educational work at Bathurst was given. The day schools were better staffed than any other schools on the Gambia, and most of the West African officials employed by the Government were educated and trained in them. The high school, too, promised to provide what has been the great need of the Mission from the first—a steady stream of men of character and devotion prepared to undertake the sacrifice and service entailed in carrying the Gospel of Christ to their fellow countrymen.

In 1905 the Church was delighted to welcome back to the Mission the Rev. Robert Dixon, who, after twenty-three years' absence in England, returned to his former charge. With rare industry and devotion Mr. Dixon had kept up his study of the vernacular, and was able to complete another term of three years before returning to England finally in 1909.

The Centenary year found the Rev. R. T. Davies in charge of the River Mission, with excellent lay Missionaries in Messrs. F. Dean and G. Armatage, the former in charge of the educational department and the latter, as above indicated, of the industrial. In addition to these there were the following Native Ministers in the District: the Rev. D. Boyle Roach at Bathurst, and the Rev. C. L. Leopold, M.A., who did excellent service in the schools. The Rev. W. T. Cole was stationed at McCarthy's Island, and the Rev. S. T. McLean at Ballanghar, a station first occupied in 1901.

The absence of enterprise and growth in a Missionary Church is a serious omen, and when to that is added the failure to secure an indigenous ministry the outlook is depressing. There is much in the history of the Church at St. Mary's over which we may well rejoice, but the fact that its ministry was continually recruited either from England or from Sierra Leone is a disquieting feature, and the failure to establish during so many years of its existence strong Churches in the outlying districts does not indicate a vigorous vitality. Some of the causes of this have been already dealt with, but there is one radical defect of which more may be said. The African is notoriously emotional. But no religion that is based merely

or mainly on emotion is likely to exhibit the characteristics found wanting in this Mission. Religion which is based on sentiment is unstable. It needs the moral strength which is supplied by knowledge and trained habits of life. Given these, then the balanced emotion becomes a strength and not a weakness. From the earliest days of this Mission attempts were made to secure both industry and education, but these were insufficiently supported and imperfectly equipped. Both Morgan and MacBrair laid emphasis upon these, but it was not until the century was far advanced that adequate industrial training was provided, and the frequent collapses of the many attempts to establish schools and colleges are greatly to be deplored. It is true that the Society at home was embarrassed by the calls from fields which promised unlimited opportunity and a greater measure of fruitfulness, and the record of lives laid down in the attempts to secure these elements of successful missionary work goes far to exonerate the home Church from a charge of inadequacy. But the history of events in the West Indies and again in the Gambia Mission goes to show that in the effort to evangelize alien and more or less degraded races the schoolmaster and the evangelist must work side by side.

There is yet another feature of this Mission which calls for comment. The dominant race in this region was undoubtedly the Mandingo, and these, being mostly Muhammadan, were more difficult of access and less ready to respond to the appeal of the Christian Gospel. The Wesleyan Church has scarcely yet entered upon a definite attack on the stronghold of Islam. In the earlier days of the Gambia Mission, when allegiance to Islam was less complete than it is now, it is possible that a determined effort to evangelize the Mandingo people might have had much success. To-day the work will be far more difficult ; but it is not less urgent, nor is the spiritual need of the Mandingo less clamant than it was. But if the followers of Muhammad are to learn the secret of righteousness and love in Christ Jesus they will be reached, as experience in other fields has fully proved, by way of the Ministry of Healing.

And so we come back to the threefold need of the Gambia Mission—an adequate provision for education, industry, and medical work, made in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

# III

## THE GOLD COAST

### (*a*) 'FIRST THE BLADE'

Europe and 'The Coast'—African Tribes—The Slave-trade—The first Missionary—A wide Outlook—Death of Mr. Dunwell—The Filling of the Gap—Thomas Birch Freeman—Kumasi—Reinforcements—'The Homing Instinct'—A Call from Abeokuta—Shodeke——Freeman in Dahomey—Lagos—Freeman's Difficulties—William West—His Visit to Kumasi—The Ashanti War.

THE West African coast, after leaving Sierra Leone, takes a south-eastern course until Cape Palmas is reached. Then it turns more distinctly to the east, and continues in an easterly direction as far as the Cameroons River, when again it turns sharply to the south. The whole of this coast was formerly known as the Coast of Guinea, and was sub-divided into the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast. It is the third of these that we now have to describe, It is the only part of the coast which retains the name originally given to it, and it seems likely to do so, as it is held that the country so named contains large deposits of the precious metal. It extends from 3°. 2 west longitude to 1°. 3 east longitude, and lies, roughly, 5°. north of the Equator. The coast-line is for the most part low and flat, and approach to it is dangerous by reason of the surf caused by the breaking of Atlantic rollers on the beach. There are no good harbours, but Macdonald calls attention to Takoradi, Sekondi, and Accra as affording facilities for a port of entry, from which railways and good roads might be constructed into the heart of a country peculiarly rich in those tropical products so essential to modern industry.[1] These early attracted European traders; French, Portuguese, Danes, and English, have all competed for the trade of this country, and after the middle of the fourteenth century the forts with which they protected their several emporiums began to appear along the whole of the coast.

[1] *The Gold Coast Past and Present*, by George Macdonald, 1898.

There is some dispute as to whether the French or the Portuguese were the first to appear, but in the many vicissitudes that followed in the wake of European wars the final result has been that from 1872 the whole coast has come under British control. Of the tribes who inhabit this region an excellent account is given in a volume written by the Rev. Dennis Kemp and entitled *Nine Years on the Gold Coast.* Mr. Kemp calls attention to the fact that for this account he is indebted to the Rev. J. B. Anaman, F.R.G.S., one of many notable Native African Ministers who have given strength and dignity to the Christian Church on the Gold Coast. It appears that the seven great families into which the original tribe was divided inhabited at one time the regions of Central Africa, from which they were driven by the advancing tide of Moslem invaders. They finally settled in the great range of mountains which form the hinterland of this coast, and which are known as the Kong Mountains. They seem from earliest times to have carried on a considerable trade with Carthage, and, through Alexandria, with both Greece and Phoenicia. One of the most powerful of these tribes is that of Ashanti, and closely related to them is the Fanti tribe, which eventually came down to the coast, driving out the aboriginal tribes from that region, and, breaking off from the Ashantis, founded a kingdom of its own. It is from these that the Christian Church has won its best adherents. The Rev. J. T. F. Halligey speaks of them as being 'specially noted for evangelistic ardour, liberality, and success.'[1] The mother language spoken by these migrating tribes was *Akan*, and this remains the basis of the dialects spoken by Ashantis, Fantis, and other less notable tribes. Along the coast the Fanti dialect is that which is commonly known and spoken.

Climatic conditions on this coast are much the same as in Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and the prevalent unhealthiness is due to very similar causes. First of these must be reckoned the insanitary conditions inevitable when an inferior race is held down under a system which forbids to them the privileges of education, and this injustice has been fully avenged on those who suppressed them.

In the past White men were quartered amidst surroundings that

[1] *Work and Workers*, 1892, p. 256. Another notable account of these tribes is that written by the Rev. John Beecham, entitled *Ashanti and the Gold Coast*, and published in 1841.

were totally unfit for habitation, and in which in England people would have hesitated to locate an animal.[1]

To a constitution lowered by residence in the tropics such conditions alone are fatal, and the appalling death-rate among Europeans on the coast must be attributed in large measure to this fact. But even more fatal are the swamps and lagoons which characterize the whole extent of the coast. This is not so much because of miasmatic vapours arising therefrom, but is due to the fact that such places are the natural breeding-ground of countless myriads of mosquitos, now known to be the carriers of disease. The average temperature, for the tropics, is not excessive. The average in the shade ranges from 85 to 90 degrees, a temperature which is far exceeded in many parts of India, where, nevertheless, white men may enjoy fairly good health. In early days, too, protection from the sun was not studied as it is to-day, and many fell victims to some form or other of heat apoplexy. But, whatever the cause may be, the death-rate among Missionaries in this field was quite as high as we have seen it to be in the fields already described.

From earliest days the curse of slavery has fallen heavily upon the whole of this coast. It is held that powerful tribes, such as the Ashantis and the Fantis, owe their existence to the fact that smaller tribes were driven together and welded into larger units by the necessity of resisting the slave dealers from the interior. Later on they themselves became the chief agents in this unholy traffic, supplying European traders with gangs of slaves obtained by raiding their weaker neighbours and driving the unhappy victims to the coast. The forts which stud the whole coast line remain, in their ruin, monuments of a traffic which degraded both the human chattels and their inhuman lords. Portuguese and Spaniards, British, Danish, Dutch, and French, were all equally guilty, and the debt owing by Europe to Africa can never be fully discharged.[2] Towards the end of the eighteenth century a more humane feeling began to make itself felt. Denmark, Britain, and the United States forbade the traffic; and in 1842 Britain and

[1] Macdonald (*op. cit.* p. 66).

[2] Macdonald (*op. cit.* p. 84), says 'From the middle of the 17th to near the end of the 18th century statistics show that nearly two and a quarter million of the Negroes were deported from their own country by European adventurers to work in the English Colonies in the West Indies, the total for given years reaching to no less than 75,000 slaves for a good year's work.'

the United States agreed to maintain a fleet for its suppression. The forts then became centres of a more legitimate trade; and civilization, with its great gift of education, has done much for the people of the Gold Coast. It could not, however, do in a moment all that it promised. The inevitable reaction from a system of slavery has shown itself in resentment against free labour, and agriculture especially was held to be degrading to a free man. Work was for the most part left to the women, and incorrigible laziness, save in the particular of trade, became the characteristic of the Negro. This, added to the fact that whole tracts of country had been depopulated by the slave traders, has had the result that, in a land of peculiar fertility and abundance of mineral resources, the greater part has been left uncultivated, and has quickly become a wilderness of forest and bush. Scarcity of labour has prevented the more rapid development of the country, and some attempt has been made in the course of the years to import foreign labour. The climate, however, seems to be as deadly to the Oriental as it is to the European, and only the African himself will ever be able to make available for the world the wealth which his country is ready to yield.

Before passing from this question of slavery, there is one point which should be noted as differentiating this part of the coast from both the Gambia and Sierra Leone. These latter came into prominence as regions to which slaves that had obtained their freedom were returned. The Guinea Coast was rather a region from which slaves were exported. It followed that the manumitted slaves in the two former districts found themselves aliens in a strange land. They had no common language, and no racial connexion with tribes in the surrounding district. When such persons entered the Christian Church they remained cut off from their neighbours, and thus the growth of the Church has not been as rapid or as extensive as might have been expected. On the Gold Coast it is far otherwise. Family and tribal relationships were still in existence, and through these the Christian Church has rapidly developed. It will be found, too, that many liberated slaves, who had entered the Christian Church during their stay at Sierra Leone, discovered after a while that the way was open for them to return to their own kinsfolk farther along the coast. Many did so return, both to the Gold Coast

and the Lagos district, taking with them the good seed of the kingdom of Christ, and many a little Church was formed from among the repatriated people from Sierra Leone. These facts must be steadily borne in mind by the reader as he notes the more rapid growth of the Church in the districts now under review.

Into the heart of all this teeming and prolific life came, in the providence of God, the Methodist Church, with its ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ proclaiming deliverance for the captive, an uplifting faith, a new moral scheme of life, and the promise of fulfilment in Christ. With what results? To mention merely the numerical result, we find that in the year in which this chapter is written the Church membership stands at upwards of 41,000, with 13,000 on trial for membership and 42,000 baptized adherents. It is the object of this History to trace the moral and spiritual growth of this community.

The British and Foreign Bible Society is the mother of many missionary Churches, and it had been the custom of the Society to send to the Governor of Cape Coast Castle copies of the Scriptures to be given to boys leaving school, in which the Governor took a deep personal interest. About the year 1830 a group of these boys were greatly impressed by their reading of the Scriptures, and made known the state of their minds to a Scotch merchant of the name of Topp. Under his guidance they formed a 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' and this continued for two years. In 1833, on the arrival of a ship trading along the coast, they sought its captain and asked if he had any Bibles for sale. Captain Potter was surprised at a request of this kind meeting him at such a place, and after a few inquiries asked whether they would not like to have in their midst a Missionary to teach and help them. They answered that they could scarcely hope that such a privilege would ever be theirs, but on his return to England Captain Potter laid the matter before the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and generously offered facilities in taking a Missionary to Cape Coast Castle if the Society would consent to send one. The choice of the Society fell upon the Rev. Joseph Dunwell, and in due course he sailed, to begin a work through which thousands of Africans were to enter into a freedom greater than that which was already theirs. In 1834 Mr. Dunwell arrived at Cape Coast Castle.

Mr. Dunwell was a Missionary of amiable manners, consistent conduct, and true piety, zealous and unsparing in labour. He immediately set to work, and in a very short time was able to report the establishment of Sunday schools and the formation of Society Classes. The Society at home recognized the importance of the work thus commenced, for in the report of 1835 reference to it is made as follows :

> The Committee are disposed to regard the establishment of this Mission as an event of more than ordinary importance. As a Mission to the Natives of the coast, the Fantis, it possesses an interesting character, but its interest greatly increases when the enterprise is viewed in its probable influence on the neighbouring tribes. The powerful kingdom of the Ashantis immediately adjoins ; and to this people Mr. Dunwell is already directing his attention. He has ascertained that no insurmountable obstacles oppose the introduction of the Gospel among them ; and he is indulging the hope that he may be permitted to plant the standard of the cross in the very capital of their dark and sanguinary monarch. Nor is the contiguity of this station to the Niger to be overlooked. Should an extensive commerce be established on the river, the intercourse between Cape Coast and the nations on its banks will afford facilities for missionary undertakings among them. The diffusion of the Gospel in the vast regions through which the Niger rolls is a part of the Redeemer's saving plan, and in the lifting up of the cloud of mystery which for so many ages shrouded the course of that mighty river, the eye of faith discovers a higher providential design than the accomplishment of any merely commercial end, and cannot otherwise regard it than as one of those important preparatory events which shall usher in the day of Christ's universal reign.

It is easy to discover in this statement the interest and the far-sighted vision of Dr. John Beecham, and we have quoted it at length to show that even in those early days the Missionary Society saw the unlimited possibilities of the Mission, then represented by a single Missionary on the coast.

But that Missionary was not to do more than lay the foundations of the great edifice that was to be erected. On June 21—only six months after landing—Mr. Dunwell was stricken down with fever, and in a few days he passed to higher service. In the *Missionary Notices* for 1835–36 there appears an affecting journal kept by a Fanti fellow worker of the beloved Missionary, describing the last days of his friend and the effect upon the newly gathered flock when the sad news ran through the town—' The Shepherd is away ; the Missionary is dead.' But though

they had lost their pastor they were still in the care of a greater Shepherd, and the members of the Church continued to meet for study of the Scriptures and for prayer. One of the first members of the group which approached Captain Potter was William de Graft, and under his leadership the Church continued to wait upon God. The Committee determined to follow up a work which seemed so full of promise, and towards the end of 1836 two married Missionaries, with their wives, sailed for the coast. These were the Rev. G. O. Wrigley and the Rev. P. Harrop. The calamity which followed seems to have been owing to undue exposure to the sun. Within three weeks Mr. Harrop and his wife had died, and these were followed almost immediately by Mrs. Wrigley, worn out with her ministry to her dying friends. For ten months longer the stricken survivor stood to his post, then he, too, was stricken down, and thus within the year the whole of the newly appointed staff had been removed by death. It is said that the funeral of Mr. Wrigley, conducted by Governor Maclean, was one of the most affecting scenes that had ever been witnessed at Cape Coast.

In letters which subsequently reached the Mission House attention is drawn to the insanitary condition of the mission houses on this coast. They entirely agree with the description given by Mr. Macdonald and quoted above; and that the Committee at home was aware of the facts and was anxious to do everything to preserve the health and life of its Missionaries has been sufficiently noted in the chapter on Sierra Leone.[1]

But while the infant Church in West Africa was thus plunged into the depths of sorrow and bereavement, God was preparing for His service the man who, under His guidance, was to carry the work thus laid down to a point far beyond the thought of those who were scarcely able to begin the great enterprise. Early in January, 1838, there landed at Cape Coast Castle the Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, accompanied by his wife.

The story of this remarkable Missionary is one of the most striking in our annals. A full account of his life cannot be attempted here. Reference may be made to the excellent account given in the Rev. John Milum's *Thomas Birch Freeman*. The father of the latter was a Negro, and had been a slave.

[1] See pp. 96 ff.

He was brought to England, and there secured his freedom, and took up employment in Twyford, near Winchester, where he married an English girl. Their son was destined in the providence of God to bring many thousands of his father's people into the freedom with which Christ makes His people free.

On a certain Sunday evening young Freeman, bent upon some boyish mischief, listened through the keyhole to a Methodist Preacher in a cobbler's cottage. It was in such wise that the call of God came to him. After his conversion he joined the Wesleyan Church, and in due course arrived, as we have said, at Cape Coast Castle. He at once set to work to build up the little Church so sorely bereaved. He completed the building begun by the Missionaries Harrop and Wrigley. This is described as presenting an imposing appearance, and it affords accommodation for seven or eight hundred people. But he did more than this. He gathered together the sorely stricken people, and filled their hearts with the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and with the same enthusiasm as that which filled his own. His heart was set upon the people of Ashanti, and in 1838 he writes, 'According to information received, there is no obstacle in the way of the introduction of Christianity among the Ashantis except their jealous and bloodthirsty disposition, and the heavy expenses of travelling owing to the dangerous nature of the climate to Europeans. Had not the building of the chapel and the entreaties of the people at Cape Coast prevented me, I had, by the blessing of God, unfurled the banner of the Cross in that bloody city of Coomassie ere this time.' He set out on his memorable journey of 170 miles on January 29, 1839. Before this date, however, the people of Kumasi[1] were being prepared to receive the ministry of the Christian Church. Dr. Beecham, in *Ashanti and the Gold Coast*, describes the succession of wars between that country and the coast. Peaceful intercourse was at length restored, and two youths of the Royal Family, Quanta Missah and Ansah, whom the King of Ashanti had sent as hostages to Cape Coast Castle, came under the influence of Mr. Dunwell. They afterwards came to England, where they at length made a public profession of the Christian religion.[2] In 1836 Mr. Wrigley, writing to the Committee, says, 'The

[1] The modern spelling of the name of this city will now be followed.

[2] This statement is taken from Dr. Beecham's book, in the margin of his own copy of which he writes: 'from the Princes' own lips.'

present king of the Ashanti nation is a far more tolerant man than his predecessor, and a Missionary might with perfect safety reside at Coomassie, the capital of his kingdom. A young man is now resident there as the king's secretary who was formerly a member of our Society here ; and who continues, as far as I can learn, to maintain a moral and steady character, and is steadfast in his religious attachments.' A few months afterwards Mr. Wrigley again writes of rumours which have reached him of prayers in the house of a Christian in Kumasi, and of the presence of the king's sons ; and also that on Christmas Day, at the request of the king, Christian worship had been held in the palace, when the king himself had attended. All this not only prepared the way for Mr. Freeman, but greatly increased his desire to visit Kumasi. It was not till April 1 that he entered the city, where he was received by the king in state. The interview was impressive and not without results. After some delay he was able to return to the coast, not before he had baptized a Native of the interior who had received instruction from Christian Fanti traders. A kindly message was sent him from the king, and Freeman promised either to return himself to Kumasi or to send some one in his place. Mr. Freeman arrived at Cape Coast Castle on April 23. Shortly after this he received a communication that the king was waiting to see him again, and was anxious that he should establish a school in his city. In an interesting letter from Governor Maclean, the Governor, commenting on Mr. Freeman's visit says :

> I hope and trust that the Wesleyan Missionary Committee will be satisfied that there is such an opening as will justify them in pushing the advantage gained by your indefatigable zeal. I will almost go so far as to say that if they have the means a serious responsibility will rest upon them and upon Christian England if so glorious an opening into interior Africa, if so rich a harvest, be neglected. But I hope better things.

Some months followed, in which Freeman visited new towns, such as Anamabu, Winnebah, and Accra, building churches and furthering in every possible way the development of his great enterprise. In 1840 he visited England, taking with him William de Graft, and they were received with the greatest enthusiasm in this country. Five thousand pounds were quickly contributed for the development of the work on the

Gold Coast. It was decided largely to reinforce the missionary staff on the coast, and at the close of the year 1840 he returned to Africa, bringing with him Mr. and Mrs. Hesk, Mr. and Mrs. Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Shipman, Mr. Thackwray, and Mr. Walden. Mrs. Freeman and Mr. de Graft made up the party. In the *Missionary Notices* the following reference appears:

> Never was a missionary party dismissed from the shores of England with a more intense feeling of interest and sympathy. All acknowledge the very arduous and difficult character of the Mission, as well as the important bearings on the welfare of the human race, and one of the boldest efforts yet made by the Church in modern times to introduce Christianity and its attendant blessings to the independent Negro states of Central Africa.

Death soon laid its hand on several members of the party. Within four months Thackwray and Walden had been taken. Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Hesk died in the following month, and Shipman died in February, 1843, so that in less than two years five of the party which had sailed with so much hope were dead. The Governor, President Maclean, who had taken the deepest interest in the work of the Missionaries, wrote to the Committee on the subject of these bereavements, and suggested that young persons should if possible be selected for work on the coast, on the ground that such become more readily acclimatized than persons more advanced in life, and are more willing to listen to and adopt the suggestions made by those better acquainted with the country and the climate for the protection of their own health.

Towards the close of 1841 the two Ashanti princes who had been educated in England returned, and President Maclean suggested that Freeman should accompany them to their own country. Accordingly, on November 6, he set out on his second journey to Kumasi, taking with him the Rev. R. Brooking, who was to remain in that city and begin work there. They were further charged with the delivery to the king of a carriage, the gift of the Missionary Committee. A large company of Natives went with them, partly as retinue to the princes, and partly to cut a way through the forest for the carriage. It may easily be imagined that the difficulty of taking this cumbersome gift over mountains and across rivers was considerable. It was, however, safely accomplished, and the

carriage gave great satisfaction to the king. We are not told that he made any great use of it, though doubtless it played an impressive part in royal pageants within a restricted area.

Freeman's influence in Kumasi was greatly increased in the course of this visit, and he left Kumasi on January 31, 1842, with good hopes of seeing a Christian Church firmly established in this grim centre of heathendom. By the time he returned to Cape Coast Castle other Missionaries had arrived from England. The Rev. William Allen was stationed at Domanasi, and the Rev. Thomas Rowland was appointed to join Mr. Brooking at Kumasi. The Rev. John Watson, who later played a part which greatly discredited him, took up work at Dixcove, a promising centre to the west of Cape Coast Castle, where William de Graft had first gathered together the members of the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.' Mr. and Mrs. Shipman were at Accra, where they had made a start in the very necessary work of training Native Ministers. Thus between the years 1838 and 1842 strategic centres had been occupied, and opportunities for further development were frequent. One of these demands a more extended notice, since it led to the beginning of work among the tribes which make up the Yoruba race.

We have seen how Sierra Leone became a dépôt for manumitted slaves. Most of these had been taken from slave-ships attempting to escape the vigilance of British cruisers and to convey their unhappy cargoes to America. Their homes were therefore somewhere in the hinterland of this coast, but few of them had any knowledge of their exact locality. But in 1838 a few Yorubas—or Akus, as they were called in Sierra Leone—joined a trader in a coasting vessel, and in due course found themselves at a town called Lagos, in the Bight of Benin. This they recognized as the port from which they had sailed as slaves, and thus knew that they were not far from their own country. Proceeding up the River Ogun in canoes, they came to the town of Abeokuta, where they met some of their own relatives. They returned to Sierra Leone, and we may imagine that their news aroused the 'homing' feeling in many hearts. A large number at once left for Lagos and the Yoruba country. Obstructed by the slave-dealers of Lagos, who saw that

the movement was likely to lead to results prejudicial to their trade, they found another landing-place at Badagry, forty miles to the west of Lagos. This port had been kept open by the Egbas of the interior, and was freely used by them as affording access to the sea. Some seven years before the Cornish explorer, Richard Lander, had visited this place, and had spoken of it as 'a vile nest of Portuguese slave-dealers.' It was a veritable Aceldama, and the cruelties and tortures inflicted upon the hapless slaves baffle description.

The Yorubas are described as the most progressive of all races in West Africa. Under pressure from the Dahomeyans and the Muhammadan Fulani they had sought a new home, where they might secure the advantage of mutual protection, and they found it in the south-west of their country, on the banks of the River Ogun. A mighty pile of granite became their Acropolis, and under the guidance and rule of their great chief they speedily built the great city of Abeokuta—a city which contains to-day more than 100,000 inhabitants. It was to this city that the freed slaves had found their way from Sierra Leone. Many of these were members of the Christian Church, and presently the Missionaries in Sierra Leone received an impassioned call: 'For Christ's sake come quickly; let nothing but sickness prevent you. Do not stop to change your clothes, to eat or drink or sleep, and salute no man by the way. Do, for God's sake, start this moment.' We can imagine the effect of such a message upon the missionary heart of Freeman. On September 24, 1842, he landed at Badagry, taking with him his faithful brother and fellow servant, William de Graft. It was in such wise that the Gospel came to the Yorubas. To-day Lagos is called 'the Bombay of West Africa.' It contains all the amenities and appurtenances of advanced civilization. Many of its inhabitants are educated men and prosperous merchants, and the tide of progress in all that makes for civilized life is still far from having reached high-water mark. It has become the central emporium for the whole of Southern Nigeria, and there is no limit to its future development. In the heart of this city, and spreading out through the whole of the Yoruba country, is the Methodist Church, which returned in 1913 a membership of 2,672. Yet the power which has through God brought this about found its first embodiment in two

Missionaries, flung by the surf upon the bloodstained coast of Badagry in 1842.

At first the greater part of the Christian Church in the Gold Coast consisted of Sierra Leone emigrants. Every imaginable hindrance was put in the way of the Missionaries by the slave-dealers of the coast, but in 1843 there were five principal stations, with five Missionaries and twenty catechists, while the number of fully accredited Church members amounted to 690, a remarkable result of five years' service.

Freeman, on landing at Badagry, at once set to work on the erection of Mission premises; and, as soon as these were sufficiently advanced, proceeded to visit the town of Akeokuta, seventy-five miles in the interior. Here he received an extraordinary welcome, not only from the repatriated Christians from Sierra Leone, but also from their chief, Shodeke. This latter had rallied the scattered Yorubas, and had guided and governed them with the greatest success. He seems to have been a man of open mind, with an extraordinary capacity for coming to decisions that were wise and true. The Rev. J. T. F. Halligey says: 'Shodeke was a very remarkable character. No Native chief has yet equalled him in intelligence, courage, and wisdom.'[1]

Just before Freeman's arrival Shodeke was earnestly inquiring into the credentials offered by Muhammadan teachers, but on the coming of the Christian teachers these were abruptly put aside, and Shodeke became an avowed disciple of Christ. This was a matter of bitter resentment both to the Muhammadans and to the local priests of fetish, and not very long after the chief was done to death by poison. Before this, however, Freeman had returned to Badagry, and at once began to prepare for a visit to Dahomey, the country lying to the west of Lagos, and forming, with what was the German territory of Togoland, a stretch of country which separates the British domains of the Gold Coast from Southern Nigeria.

Freeman undertook this journey because the infant Mission at Badagry would be exposed to serious peril unless the King of Dahomey were conciliated. On January 1, 1843, he arrived at Whydah, and after a stay of a week he set out for Abomi, the chief town of Dahomey. Both at Whydah and Abomi he witnessed scenes of appalling cruelty. There is little reverence

[1] *Methodism in West Africa*, p. 97.

for human life where slavery obtains. One of the inseparable features of that system is to be seen in the practice of tortures which sinks man lower than the beasts. After a tedious period of waiting for the royal permission to advance, Freeman found himself at last in Kana, the suburb of Abomi, and was presently allowed an interview with the king. The latter had evidently been alarmed by rumours relating to the presence of Missionaries at Badagry, but, on being reassured by Freeman that his purpose in visiting that town was strictly religious, and had no political significance, the king became more friendly, and pressed Freeman to begin work at Whydah also. He also selected four children from the royal household, and entrusted them to Freeman's care for education, while, in addition, four girls were sent with them as 'gifts' to President Maclean and Freeman himself. These last promptly received their freedom. On returning to Whydah, Freeman visited Togoland—or the Popo, as it was then called—and arranged with the chief that a Mission should be started there also. He returned to Cape Coast Castle on April 9, 1843.

It is clear that Freeman possessed in a remarkable degree a personality which favourably impressed the different chiefs with whom he came into contact. In Ashanti and Dahomey he had confronted monarchs who, notoriously, had not the slightest regard for the sanctity of human life. They lived in an atmosphere of torture and death, and their homes were decorated with human skulls. Yet in the presence of this man, armed but with gentleness and proclaiming a gospel of peace and goodwill, bloodthirsty tyrants became genial and kindly friends, and seemed more than willing to admit the Ministers of Jesus Christ. Freeman bore the test of such royal favour triumphantly. He shows no trace of any spirit save that of simple devotion to his Master, Christ, and an eager zeal to admit such men as he found in the habitations of cruelty into Christian freedom.

In the Report for 1843 there appears a note to the effect that John Watson, one of the Missionaries who accompanied Freeman to the Gold Coast in 1841, had withdrawn from the Mission. He had been opposed to Freeman from the first, and had compromised his character. Soon after his return to England a letter appeared in *The Times* assailing Freeman's character, and disparaging the labours of Missionaries on this

coast. The letter appeared over the *nom de plume* of ' Omega,' but it was easy to establish its authorship as that of Mr. Watson. So much attention was drawn to this matter that the Committee considered it advisable to devote the whole of the *Notices* published in December, 1844, to a statement of the work in West Africa, and to a refutation of the charges made by Mr. Watson. These charges were naturally a matter of distress to Freeman, who by that time had returned to England on a visit, but they elicited so clear and universal an expression of confidence in him, and of the high appreciation in which his work was held, that the attempt to blacken his character and to destroy his influence turned rather ' to the furtherance of the Gospel.' The incident had the effect of raising the Missionary and his service still higher in the estimation of the friends of Missions, and some increase in the support of the work on this coast was attributable to the sympathy elicited by an attack which was wholly without justification, and which further discredited its unhappy author.

Before returning to England Freeman had accompanied to Kumasi the Rev. George Chapman, who had arrived on the coast in January, 1841. His predecessor, the Rev. Robert Brooking, had previously returned to England in broken health. The work in Kumasi had developed, and several Ashantis, among them some of the king's family, had made a public confession of Christ. A new Mission house had been built and was occupied by Freeman on his third visit to Kumasi.

Along the coast from Dixcove to Badagry, and in many a station inland, the good seed of the Kingdom had been faithfully sown, and the harvest was now ready for gathering. The growth of the Church had not been unhindered. Fetish priests, alarmed at the many signs that their position was being undermined and their personal prestige rapidly vanishing, incited local chiefs to acts of cruel repression. Some of these chiefs, however, brought themselves under the strong hands of British law. Not only were they punished, but they had their eyes opened to the fraud practised upon them by their own religious guides, and in some cases, as at Mankessim, they were thus brought to accept and further the faith which once they persecuted. About this time, too, a wave of gracious revival swept over the Churches in the Gold Coast Mission.

The Missionaries present at the Synod in January, 1844,

were the Revs. T. B. Freeman, Benjamin Watkins, who died the following month, Samuel Annear, who served on this field from 1842 to 1846, and J. Martin and Timothy T. Greaves, who had newly arrived from England. William Allen had a few days before left for Badagry, and Brooking and Chapman were at Kumasi. Greaves was not permitted to serve long in Africa, for he, too, like Watkins, died within a few short months. The Home Committee was naturally anxious to see the all-important work of training an indigenous ministry taken in hand, and Martin was appointed to this service. How faithfully he laboured, and how great was his success, may be read in the short biography of this excellent Missionary written by his friend, the Rev. W. Terry Coppin. His work was interrupted by some months of service at Accra, and again at Badagry, where he was called to fill the vacant places of other Missionaries. He returned to Cape Coast Castle, and the next year was invalided home.

In 1845, on returning to the coast, Freeman had brought with him a young Missionary of mixed parentage from the West Indies. This was Henry Wharton, who afterwards accomplished a long and successful ministry in West Africa. In 1854 Freeman resolved to visit Dahomey again, and took Wharton with him to begin work in that country. For some reason, however, Wharton did not remain in Dahomey, but accompanied Freeman on his tour, during which they visited Whydah, Accra, Abeokuta, and Lagos. Reference to Lagos as a notorious slave-market has already been made. The British Government had attempted to put a stop to the traffic by treaty with the chief in power. When the latter refused to do this he was deposed (he was really a usurper), and the rightful king, who had been driven out of the country, was reinstated. With King Akitoye a treaty was quickly made, and was duly signed on January 1, 1852. King Akitoye promised to abolish the trade in slaves, to put a stop to human sacrifices, and to give protection to Christian Missionaries, with liberty to pursue their ministry. A few months after Missionaries began their work in Lagos.

Meantime a situation of great difficulty, the issue of which was deplorable, had developed. The zeal and devotion of Freeman, supported as he was by faithful fellow labourers in the service of Christ, had led, as we have seen, to an

extraordinary extension of the Christian Church along the whole coast and far into the interior. The Committee at home had recognized the spirit in which that work had been accomplished, and had duly recorded their appreciation of the illimitable opportunities it presented. If the Church at home had been equally responsive, if its members had determined that nothing should keep them from entering the many doors thrown wide open before their Ministers, then the West African Church might have been in strength and influence far advanced upon what it is to-day. But the funds of the Society were limited, new fields in the East were clamorous for reinforcement, and the Committee found itself seriously embarrassed by financial commitments imposed upon them by the very success of Freeman's Mission. As early as 1839 anxiety began to be felt by the Committee, and Freeman's visit to England in 1840 was undertaken partly in the hope of raising through his advocacy a special fund for so promising a field. That advocacy resulted in a fund of £5,000 being placed at the disposal of the Committee, but the amount was quickly expended, and in 1845 it was announced that the Society had incurred a debt on account of work on the Gold Coast of nearly £8,000. Before the end of the year the debt had been reduced by more than £5,000, but the situation was still one of great anxiety. It was impossible, however, to restrain the ardour of this great Missionary. Doubtless he was confident that the Church at home needed only to see, as he saw every day, the hand of God beckoning him into the very heart of Africa, when all necessary funds would be forthcoming. He continued to accept such calls, to the increasing distress of the Missionary Committee. Advice, injunction, peremptory commands, seemed all in vain, and the Secretaries presently took the extreme step of protesting the bills drawn by Freeman, and for some time they refused to take them up. They finally sent to the Gold Coast as their delegate the Rev. Daniel West to inquire into the whole situation. The Rev. William West was also appointed financial secretary to the Mission, and arrived at Cape Coast Castle towards the end of the year 1856. The point of view of Missionaries on the field is well set forth by Henry Wharton in a letter written about this time. After speaking of the extraordinary success which attended their efforts, he says :

I learn with deep regret that the Committee require the work in this extensive district to be carried on with a limited grant. I really cannot see how this is to be effected without the serious curtailment of our operations. The other brethren with whom I have conversed on this subject are as deeply pained as I am. Should this restrictive measure of the Committee be peremptorily carried out, it is not difficult to foretell the disastrous results. The zeal and devotion of the brethren will thereby receive a deadening check, and our spheres of labour will be seriously contracted. I should deeply regret to witness anything approaching a retrograde movement arising from financial retrenchment, when, after years of toil and tears and trials, the Lord is now crowning our labours with such abundant success. Oh, sirs, be liberal to us. Be liberal to poor, hapless, downtrodden Africa. Sustain and strengthen her, and she will in due time repay you all.

Most unfortunately Daniel West was never able to report to the Committee the results of his inquiry. He was taken ill on the steamer by which he was returning to England, and died at the Gambia on February 24, 1857. The Committee of Discipline which met in June, 1857, speaks of Freeman's 'reckless disregard of the instructions of the Committee in respect of finance.' It declared that such conduct could neither be justified nor palliated, and invited the censure of the Conference as it had already received that of the Committee. No charge of embezzlement nor of seeking private gain was made against him. He was considered guilty of 'thoughtlessness, and a false, exaggerated confidence in the resources of the Missionary Committee, with a persistent disregard of advice and direction.' He was in consequence deposed from the chair, and the Rev. William West was appointed to succeed him. These strained relations between Freeman and the Committee led the former to sever his connexion with the Missionary Society. He retired to Accra, where he turned his early training as a gardener to excellent account by cultivating a large tract of land. He was not without scientific skill, and was able to supply the authorities at Kew with rare plants and interesting botanical specimens. He was freely consulted by Government officials with reference to tribes in the interior, and his advice was greatly prized. He still maintained his Church membership, and frequently preached to the Accra congregations. After an interval of sixteen years he was happily persuaded by the Rev. John Milum to take up again the missionary service which he loved.

It is distressing to chronicle this incident in the life of a

Missionary endowed, as few have been, for the difficult work of a pioneer, and conspicuously successful in that work The blame should be attributed neither to the Committee at home nor to the Missionary, with his burning zeal to win Africa for his Master. The Committee was responsible for the right administration of the funds with which they were entrusted. They were bound to hold the balance fairly as between one field and another, and not allow the fact of large accessions in one area to prejudice them against those in which such results were slow in appearing. The Missionary, on the other hand, exhibits in every period of his life a simple but whole-hearted devotion to the cause to which he had consecrated himself. His one and dominant idea was to secure the kingdoms of Africa for Christ. If there be any blame for this deplorable set-back in the missionary activities of a devoted servant of Christ, it must be laid upon the Church at home. Its members applauded and encouraged the Missionary when he appeared before them, and if their gifts had been commensurate with such expressions the Committee would have authorized the advance, and the Missionary would have had the desire of his heart fulfilled. In all such withholdings, in all cases of retrenchment, the Church at home should ask whether it has been faithful to the trust committed to it, rather than seek to censure administrators who are but the servants of her behest. The rebuff given to Freeman was a severe test of his character, but the issue of that testing was an increased respect for the man. His personal character remained unsullied, and nothing reveals its Christian quality so well as his conduct during the years of his retirement. In the years of service that followed upon his return to the ministry he was signally owned of God, and had the joy of admitting hundreds to the fellowship of the Christian Church in baptism. He passed at last, full of years, and enriched by the honour and love of all who knew him, to fuller life on August 11, 1890. Well may his biographer say : ' A few more such ardent souls and the wastes of Africa shall be won for Christ.' [1]

The administration which followed was complementary to that of Freeman. William West was a Missionary of experience, and had already served the Church in the West Indies for

[1] John Milum's *Thomas Birch Freeman*, p. 159.

twenty years. His gifts were exactly those required in a régime which followed the almost too rapid expansion which had characterized the Church under Freeman's enthusiastic direction. The new Superintendent brought to his difficult charge an integrity which was beyond the possibility of challenge. His mind was clear, and marked by great refinement of thought. He was modest and courteous in demeanour, practical and efficient in enterprise. As a Preacher he revealed great clearness of thought combined with deep spiritual fervour. No better selection could have been made for following up the somewhat unbalanced spirit of enterprise shown by his predecessors.[1]

At the time of his succession the number of members returned in the one District of the Gold Coast and Lagos was 1,896, while there were over 8,000 attendants at public worship. To shepherd this flock there were, in addition to Mr. West, three European Missionaries and nine Native Ministers. The impetus created by Mr. Freeman continued to be felt for some time, for the Missionary Secretaries reported that numerous applications for Missionaries and teachers continued to be received from neighbouring chiefs, but this intimation is followed by the depressing statement: 'Unfortunately we have not the means of responding to them.' But failure to advance is only too often followed by decline in the life of the Church, and we find Mr. West acknowledging the difficulties at home, but reporting in 1860: 'The work here is being retarded. Nay, it is retrograding for want of efficient men.' In a letter written by him in May, 1858, he calls attention to the very anomalous position occupied by Native Ministers appointed to serve in areas where their mother tongue was not spoken. Their preaching in such cases had to be done by means of interpreters.

> It would not perhaps be so objectionable were the interpreter acquainted with the mother tongue of the Preacher; but as it seldom happens, if ever, that he is, the Preacher is obliged, as well as his

[1] The writer may be permitted to express here his own sense of honour in bearing the name of so eminent a Missionary and so gracious a spirit. His own father and William West were closely associated in Jamaica, and their friendship was never broken. One of the most vivid memories of the writer's childhood is that of visits paid by William West to his father's home when the two old men, one completely blind and the other with health seriously impaired by twenty-five years' work in Jamaica, sat and talked together of the joys of their earlier service, not counting the cost but exulting in the power of the Gospel which it had been their high privilege to proclaim.

imperfect knowledge of the language will allow him, to preach in English, while the interpreter, who is no better, if so well, acquainted with English than himself, has to give it to the people in Yoruba. The preaching which is the result of such a process must necessarily be very imperfect.

One wonders how far, in such cases, the message finally delivered would correspond with the original thought of the Preacher. The use of interpreters must always be a serious limitation to a Missionary. Nothing in this service can ever be adequate to direct communication between the speaker and the hearer. But such cases as that related by Mr. West must surely be an extreme instance of a method which is never satisfactory.

In 1860 Mr. West, whose health had necessitated a visit to England, returned, and the same year saw the appointment of the Rev. Thomas Champness to Abeokuta. He had already served in Sierra Leone for three years, and brought to his new charge the same evangelistic fervour which characterized his later ministry at home. The death of his wife in 1862 was a terrible blow to him, and, after struggling on alone for nearly a year more, he returned to England.

In 1862 Mr. West decided to visit Kumasi, that he might determine upon the policy to be adopted with reference to missionary work in that city, and if it appeared desirable to continue it, that he might secure from the king the necessary freedom of access for Missionaries and Christian teachers. It was also hoped that the king might be willing to declare that no obstacle would be put in the way of those who might decide to confess Christ. Failure of health had led to the removal of the Missionaries appointed after Mr. Freeman's visit in 1842, and for many years the Mission house and chapel in Kumasi had been occupied by a Native caretaker. The premises had fallen into a condition which made it impossible for them to be occupied by Europeans without a considerable outlay in repairing them, and the attitude of the king to Christian workers was uncertain. The expedition started on March 5, and Mr. West was accompanied by the Rev. John Ossu Ansah, an Ashanti prince and a nephew of the reigning king. It will be remembered that Mr. Ansah was one of the two Ashanti princes sent to England for education in 1834. He had, after his return, confessed Christ in baptism, and

after some years of probation was ordained in 1852. A Native merchant, Ghartey, was also of the party. Nearly the whole of the Notices for September, 1862, is taken up with a most vivid account by Mr. West of this memorable visit. After describing the hardships and the many interests of the journey, Mr. West speaks of their arrival in the vicinity of Kumasi. They were delayed for some days by formalities and the rigorous etiquette of the court, but found themselves at last in the royal presence. The scene that followed was one of barbaric splendour. The king was evidently anxious to do the fullest honour to his visitor, and a great parade was made of the wealth and power at his command. To the European there was much that was incongruous and crude. Prominent chiefs in the procession were carried in baskets on the heads of men, and there was a great display of umbrellas. There was no lack of grim reminders that they were in the habitations of cruelty, for the drums were decorated with human skulls and stained with the blood of innumerable captives, while many of the king's retinue had been mutilated in the most ghastly manner. The climax of the pageant was reached when the king advanced, dancing, to shake the hand of the Missionary, and continued to dance for several minutes, still holding the hand of his embarrassed visitor. This was followed by the offering of presents on both sides, and a great feast in the king's *Kroom*, or country residence. Then came interminable delays. The object of the Missionaries' visit had been conveyed to the king, but the royal reply was withheld until ceremonies, some grotesque and others characterized by inhuman cruelty, had been observed. When at last the answer came it proved to be entirely favourable, and there seemed to be an effectual opening for taking up again the interrupted service started by Mr. Freeman. The king granted all that the Missionary had asked, and imposed no conditions. There followed the no slight difficulty of securing permission to depart. When any attempt was made in this direction the king declared that Mr. West was his friend, and he could not part with him. At last, however, permission was given, and the king paid his visitors a final compliment by 'leading' them part of the way. It is interesting to hear that on this occasion the Committee's gift of a carriage, sent with Mr. Freeman, was used as the king's conveyance, and in this he

accompanied his returning visitors about half a mile. Mr. West reports that the carriage was in good condition and had evidently not been much used.

The result of this visit was that Mr. West advocated the continuance of the Mission, the thorough repair of the Mission house, and the appointment of two Missionaries. In this connexion he makes the following wise remarks :

> Either a married man or two single men should be appointed, who would be willing to make Kumasi or some other part of Ashanti their home for ten or a dozen years, or longer if necessary, making, of course, occasional visits to England for the purpose of recruiting health. To attempt the evangelization of such a country as Ashanti by men who go there for a year or two, preach through an interpreter who but imperfectly understands their language, and then leave the people, never to see their faces more, must in the nature of things be hopeless. The men sent should be able and willing to acquire the language, and, having acquired it, to take up their abode with the people in order to their instruction.

In spite of these wise counsels from the field and good resolutions at home, little was done in Kumasi. A Native agent was sent there, but he seems to have been of no influence in the city. He enjoyed a certain amount of personal liberty, though to all intents and purposes he was a prisoner. For a number of years the unfortunate man was cut off from communication with the Missionaries on the coast. Then followed a period of strained relations between the Ashanti and the British Government, culminating at length in the destruction of Kumasi by a British force under Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1874. We may briefly summarize the events preceding this.

In 1831 the Ashanti power on the coast, and its control of people in that region, had come to an end, and the River Prah was fixed as the boundary of the king's empire. Now in 1867 negotiations between the British and the Dutch had led to an arrangement by which all Dutch possessions east of the River Sweet were handed over to the British, while these in exchange recognized the Dutch as controlling all positions on the coast to the west of that river. Afterwards the Dutch ceded their rights to Britain on condition of their obtaining certain commercial privileges, but the King of Ashanti at this point intervened, and claimed control of Elmina, a claim which he was never able to substantiate. On his further

proceeding to incarcerate certain Europeans their release was demanded by the British Government. The king not only refused to do this, but crossed the River Prah with his army on January 22, 1873, and war was declared. Mission property in the track of the invading force was everywhere destroyed, and the Christian flock was scattered. The blow fell most severely on the town of Sekondi, where work had been carried on for some years. All the inhabitants of the town were killed, imprisoned, or driven into the bush. In the fighting which ensued the despotic rule of the king was completely overthrown, and the dismemberment of his empire followed. It became an aggregate of petty states, each ruled by its own chief. When the Rev. W. Terry Coppin visited Kumasi in 1884, he found it shorn of its barbaric splendour. Half of the city was in ruins, and he surmised that 'in the course of two or three years little more will be left than the vestiges of a few habitations to mark the site where Kumasi once stood.' The several chiefs, however, seemed eager to receive the Missionaries, and to support schools for their children, though subsequently a less favourable attitude was adopted. In other parts of the field, however, there was a continuous increase, in spite of these political troubles. In 1862 the number of Church members was more than 2,000, and in 1872 it was more than 3,000, while attendance at public worship had increased from 8,500 to 11,600. It is interesting to note also that the King of Cape Coast was John Aggery, a Christian, and one of the little group who first requested Captain Potter to bring them a Missionary. On account of his Christianity Aggery had been cut off from succession to the chieftainship, and had been publicly flogged, but was finally recognized as the ruling chief of the district. In 1869 the Rev. William West, who had returned to England to recover health, took up again his service in this district, but the strain upon him had been too great. His sight, never very good, began to fail, and he returned finally to England in 1870, to spend the years of his retirement in total blindness. This affliction, however, did not rob him of his cheerfulness of spirit. The springs of joy within him were deep and full, and he rejoiced to the last to take part in public services, reciting the lessons, and preaching out of a heart where the light had never grown dim the truths he had taught in Africa and in the islands of the West.

## THE GOLD COAST—*continued*

### (*b*) 'THEN THE EAR'

Dahomey—Leaders fallen on the Field—Picot and the Ashantis—Terry Coppin and the Ashantis—The Marriage Question—Dennis Kemp—Aburi—Fanti Language and Literature—Cannell's Work—Educational Efforts—Schools for Girls—Wesley Deaconesses—Developments on the Coast—Kumasi again—Rapid Growth of the Church—African Ministers—The Danger of Drink—The Moslem Menace.

While the western section of this field suffered from the menace of Ashanti, the eastern section was exposed to a similar threat from the kingdom of Dahomey. Historians confess themselves baffled in their attempts to describe this empire of blood, this dominion of death. Human sacrifice was carried to the extreme limit, and in one particular year the King of Dahomey, in celebrating the funeral rites of his father, put to death no less than 1,000 victims. The palace walls were adorned with skulls, and it is said that the sleeping-chamber of the king was paved with the heads of his enemies. As we have seen, the king viewed the extension of Mission work in his territory with suspicion, if not with resentment. It was recognized that Christianity meant the breaking down of the system of slavery, which, with its characteristic denial of human freedom, brought in its train that disregard of human life which made the cities of these African chiefs into obscene charnel-houses from which the reek of blood was never absent. It was into such strongholds of everything abominable that the Christian faith was now entering. From the time of Freeman's first visit to Abomi, Mission agents had been sometimes imprisoned and sometimes expelled. Efforts made to establish Christian work within this territory were never very successful, except in Porto Novo; which, although situated in a Dahomian province, seems to have enjoyed a measure of independence. In 1860 the attitude of the King of Dahomey was the cause of anxiety, and Mr. Bernasko, the Native Minister appointed to Whydah, was instructed to seek an

interview with the king in order that a better understanding might be established. After many vexatious delays he was at last admitted to the presence of the king, but the answer given to his moderate and reasonable appeal was far from satisfactory. The king feared that if his people became Christians they would 'become cowards,' and refuse to go to war. He refused to allow children to attend Missions schools for similar reasons, and would not allow a Dahomian teacher named Beecham, who had been trained by permission of the late king, to be appointed by the Missionaries to teach in a 'foreign place.' He further said that Mr. Bernasko 'might tell the British Government that he did not intend giving up going to war and taking plenty of people, and it would therefore be better for the English not to prevent the Portuguese and others buying the captives and taking them to other countries, for if that were not done he would kill all that he took, which would be much worse than selling them for slaves.' It is clear that this barbarian monarch recognized the irreconcilable antagonism between Christianity and the slave-trade. His answer to the request made to him is in effect a powerful testimony to the efficacy and influence of the Gospel.

The whole country of Dahomey was finally brought under the suzerainty of France, but though this might seem to offer a fairer prospect for missionary enterprise, it has rather created a different set of difficulties, for the French administrators insist upon all teaching being given in their own language, and they look with a suspicion, born of ignorance, upon such gatherings for Christian fellowship as the Methodist Class-meeting. In the centenary year there were in this territory 737 Church members.

In the three years that followed the retirement of William West there were no less than three Chairmen of the District who laid down their lives in the service of Christ in Africa. Matthew Grimmer died in August, 1871, John Waite in June of the following year, and Henry Wharton in October, 1873. All these were good and faithful servants, and thus entered into the joy of their Lord. To the vacant chairmanship the Rev. T. R. Picot was appointed, in despite of his youth, at the request of his fellow Missionaries. He resided at Accra. John Milum was at Lagos, and the remarkable extension of work which has followed in that city and district, and which

will be subsequently described, must be largely attributed to the wise statesmanship and patient labour of this able and devoted Missionary.

But the whole country was at this time suffering from the ravages of war. After the power of Ashanti had been broken chapels and schools had to be rebuilt, and scattered congregations brought together again. The Christian community was of recent formation, and if its members had failed in so severe a test few could have blamed them. But apprehensions legitimately felt were not realized. It was found that the piety of the people had survived the calamity of a devastating war. They set themselves to repair the ruined houses of prayer. Out of their poverty they brought large gifts into the Lord's treasury, and an earnest desire to spread the knowledge of the love of God among the neighbouring tribes began to appear in the Christian Church. The presage of brighter days was unmistakable. The chairmanship of Picot marks the beginning of rapid growth in the churches established along the coast. This development was to lead, as we shall see, to the separation of the Eastern section into the District of Lagos, and the relation of this city to Southern Nigeria led to an extension of work in that country of unlimited possibilities. At this point in our survey, however, the Eastern and Western sections formed a single field under one administration, but in 1873 the number of Church members was over 4,000, with 20,000 attendants at public worship. The time for division was clearly approaching. This same year happily saw the return of Freeman to Mission work, and the local appreciation of his spiritual gifts is seen in his appointment to Anamabu, a circuit which made at that time the largest return of Church membership, over 1,400 names being on the Church roll. A gracious quickening of the Church followed on this appointment, and it was felt along the whole of the coast. In 1876 the baptisms at Anamabu alone during the first half of the year numbered no less than 1,060. Freeman thus describes a baptismal service which he conducted:

> At half past ten we commenced the morning service in the Mankessim chapel. We then held a baptismal service in the open air, under the shade of the trees near the chapel. The candidates for adult baptism were formed in rows and answered the usual questions. They then knelt down, and I passed along each kneeling rank and baptized each

person. The total number was 207, the greater part being adult. Many of these candidates were deeply affected, and this was, upon the whole, the most extraordinary and affecting baptismal service I have ever witnessed.

Serious difficulties, however, presented themselves, as was inevitable in a Church so rapidly growing. The danger in such circumstances is that of the importation into Christian life of pagan customs, and the greatest care has to be exercised by the Missionary or the Church may easily become paganized and the Christian witness be first obscured and in time obliterated.

In 1875 the whole area administered by the British was brought under Colonial administration and ceased to be called a 'Protectorate.' The immediate result of this change was seen in the stricter enforcement of British law. Domestic slavery, which under a certain amount of disguise had continued, bringing with it many evils, was abolished, and the people were roused from their former apathy and began to take a livelier interest in the affairs of their own country. The seat of Government was at the same time moved to Accra, as affording a more central position and a means of escape from the unhygienic conditions of Cape Coast Castle. It was felt that with this change in the Government a greater attempt should be made to meet the educational needs of the people. But, as we shall see later on in our record, that purpose was far from being fulfilled until much later.

Another incident of the year calls for a word of comment. Early in the year the Rev. T. Laing, one of many African Ministers whose zeal as an evangelist was equalled by their power in the pulpit and by intellectual gifts of no mean order, made a missionary journey into the country lying to the West of the Colony, and known as Apollonia. He has the honour of having been the first Christian Missionary to bring the Gospel of the living God to the people of that country. He reported a willingness on the part of the people to accept Christ and a widespread desire for the establishment of the Christian Church in that district, and says, 'The general cry is, "Come over and help us." I have never seen a people more ready to receive us than the people to the windward of this Colony. A wide field for missionary labours is opened before us. All that is required are means and men.' Many years were to

pass before the field thus opened was entered, but the movement in Apollonia, recorded in the closing paragraphs of this Section, shows how true was the vision and the judgement of this first Missionary to Apollonia, and indicates the harvest which might have been reaped during the intervening years if the Church had responded as it should have done to the cry so often repeated since Paul heard it first: 'Come over and help us.'

After the war with Ashanti it was hoped that a more successful attempt to establish permanent work in Kumasi might be attempted, and in 1876 Mr. Picot visited the city. He was asked by the Government to send in a report of his visit, but he was at the same time informed that he must not expect protection, as the Government had decided not to interfere with Ashanti in any way. He was received with assurances of goodwill by the Ashanti chief, but a very decided refusal was given to his request for educational facilities in the city. It was clear that the Ashantis looked upon Missionaries as convenient go-betweens in their relations with the British Government, but would not tolerate any attempt on the part of their people to enter the Christian Church. The chief's reply was to the following effect:

I am pleased with the friendship you have shown towards me, and I will receive you on the same condition as my granduncle, Kwaku Dooah, received the Mission. Mr. Freeman acted as peacemaker between the Ashantis and the British, so that from his friendship, and the wise administration of Governor Maclean, my granduncle enjoyed peace, and trade prospered in his time. We will accept the Mission, if you act as Mr. Freeman did to help the peace of the nation and the prosperity of trade, but you must understand that we will not select children for education, for the Ashanti children have better work to do than to sit down all day idly to learn 'Hoy! Hoy! Hoy!' They have to fan their parents, and do other work which is much better. It is a tradition among us that Ashantis are made to know that they are subjects, altogether under the power of their king. The Bible is not a book for us. God at the beginning gave the Bible to the White people, another book to the Cramos (? Muhammadans), and the fetish to us. If God requires a human sacrifice or a sheep, he tells our fetishes and they tell us and we give them. We know God already ourselves, and we cannot do without human sacrifice. . . . We will never embrace your religion, for it would make our people proud. It is your religion which has ruined the Fanti country, weakened their power, and brought down the high man on a level with the low man.

Another chief corroborated this, and added: 'The Fantis can do without polygamy and without slaves, but we cannot. . . . It is trade we want—only trade we cry for.'

Picot returned to the coast, convinced that a far more favourable field was to be found in the Asin country, which lay within the British Protectorate, and which contained as large a population as was to be found in the whole of Ashanti. No efforts had hitherto been made to establish missionary work within this territory. Doubtless the idea of establishing a Christian Church in the great stronghold of a barbarous kingdom had touched the imagination of the Church at home, and had evoked 'a zeal not according to knowledge.' Thus we find the Rev. J. Jenkin greatly disappointed at not being sent to Kumasi, as he had anticipated. Mr. Jenkin, on arrival at the Gold Coast in February, 1878, was appointed for educational work at Cape Coast, replacing the Rev. G. Dyer and Mr. James Picot. He reports that the people on the coast greatly appreciate education, but it is clear that his heart was set on an appointment to Kumasi.

In 1877 Picot reports that no less than fifty new stations had been occupied during the previous three years. There can be no doubt that abundant opportunities close at hand were offering. In the District Synod of this year the first step was taken with a view to separating the administration of the Eastern section of the field from that of the Western. The Committee so far consented to this proposal from the Synod as to enter in their report for the year 'The Yoruba and Popo District' as a distinct section of 'The Gold Coast Mission.' Financial independence, however, was not feasible, owing to straitened means at home, and the single administration continued until the year 1878, when the Lagos District was recognized as having attained its full individuality. The membership of the Western Section stood at 6,574, that of the Eastern at 973, but this number was soon to be greatly exceeded.

In 1879 the report shows that the new District was fully established under the designation 'The Yoruba and Popo District,' but the rapidly increasing importance of Lagos led finally to the new District being called by the name of that city. For some years the nomenclature adopted was that of 'The Gold Coast Section' and 'The Lagos Section,' under

the main division ' The Gold Coast and Lagos District,' but in 1886 the separation was fully indicated, and the two Districts were finally distinguished. From this point of our record, therefore, the present chapter will be concerned with the Gold Coast District properly so called, and the growth of the Church in Lagos will be recorded in another chapter.

In 1879 the Rev. T. R. Picot returned to England, having had the joy of seeing a great extension of the work of the Church during his years of service. He was followed by the Rev. James Fletcher, who served as Chairman for one year, returning to England in 1880. During the next few years the Chairman of the District resided at Lagos, but in 1885 the Rev. W. Terry Coppin removed to Cape Coast, the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey administering the Lagos Section as a separate ' District.' Mr. Coppin was one of the many wise administrators whose services have been signally owned of God in the building up of the Church in West Africa. He had visited Cape Coast in 1883, and reports as follows :

> During my five weeks' stay in this town I was more and more impressed that Methodism in it is a great power. The large congregations that assemble in our two places of worship, the great contrast between the quiet of the Sabbath and the noise and clamour of the week-day, and the very respectful hearing the heathen people give our devoted street evangelists who work at their several callings in the day, and speak for Christ in the street in the cool of the dark evening ; all these, and many more signs, prove that there are hundreds in this town who are nominally heathen, but actually are not far from the kingdom of God. . . . From what I can learn, and from my own observations, I believe the number of sincere fetish worshippers is very few, while the number of those who are indifferent alike to fetishism and Christianity is very great. It is a good sign when fetishism excites among the masses more ridicule than awe. Upon the indifferent class our work bears powerfully, with what success may be judged by the fact that at our baptismal services we more often baptize dozens than twos or threes.

In the course of this visit he visited Ewnququa, an outlying town in the Aburi district and about forty-five miles from the coast, where the local chief showed himself ready to secure for himself and his people the moral force which he had observed in the Christian Church. He conveyed to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, by deed of gift, property consisting of buildings on three sides of a ' compound,' the fourth side being completed

by a chapel to seat 200 persons. The property, with the land attached to it, was valued at £500, and in addition the chief promised an annual subscription of £10 towards the maintenance of an agent. Within four months twenty-two members of Society were enrolled, twenty-seven others were returned as catechumens, while more than sixty children were in attendance in the school.

The spirit of the Church at Cape Coast is conspicuous in the fact that its members have never ceased to seek the winning of their Ashanti neighbours for Christ. In spite of the rebuff experienced by the Rev. T. R. Picot we find the Synod of 1884 declaring their readiness to attempt again the evangelization of their former oppressors, whose rule had been shattered and whose kingdom had been broken up into chieftaincies powerless any longer to oppress. The Rev. R. J. Hayfron, an able and devoted Native Minister, was first sent as pioneer into the Ashanti country, and his reception was so favourable that Mr. Coppin subsequently accompanied him in a tour through the whole country. At Bekwai, one of the most important towns and districts south of Kumasi, the newly appointed ' king ' had been compelled by his people to declare on oath, not only that he would abolish all human sacrifices in his territory, but also that he would maintain the Christian Mission; and in his public address, given on the occasion of Mr. Coppin's visit, he declared his readiness to fulfil his promise. The same result followed upon visits to Dengyasi and Dadiasi, now the chief town in the Kukofu province, ' where blood used to flow like water.' The result of this ' apostolic journey ' was that Mr. Coppin reported :

> We have now occupied the most important towns in southern Ashanti ; a chain of stations has been formed for a distance of seven days' journey into the interior. I believe, if I had had the time and if the season had allowed, I could have traversed the whole region northward, and planted stations on the very border of the desert that stretches along the southern base of the Kong mountains. Fanti agents can work a long way northwards, their language being well understood. Islam has not yet established itself south of the Volta. Everything seems in our favour.

In addition to this cheering prospect, at the Synod above referred to a deputation of two Dwaben princes—Ashanti refugees—begged for the establishment of a Mission among

them, and it was decided to send a Native Assistant Missionary at once to Koforidua. Coppin was of the opinion that the power of Kumasi would continue to decline, and that the Dwabens would one day return to that city to exercise a Christian influence in that stronghold of paganism. Later on we shall see that this optimism was fully justified by results.

But in spite of this striking increase the Church was far from the stage when it might be considered independent of European supervision. The necessity of wise and prompt administration of discipline continued to be felt. Fetishism died hard, and members of the Church from time to time yielded to its enticements. The pressure of the huge mass of surrounding paganism was very great, and the call for enlightened administration came from every side. Among the questions of special urgency that of marriage was both constant and insistent. This question has always been a difficulty in the Christian Church. It involves issues which cannot be ignored, and the Missionaries assembled in Synod found it to be a recurrent problem which occupied the mind almost to the point of weariness. Where polygamy has been the universal custom, and where the second wife is an industrial asset, Christianity brings with it a distinct challenge to a strongly entrenched custom. In the conflict which inevitably ensues we are witnessing the clash of ideals, and the basal question is not whether polygamy in itself is wrong, but rather which of the two ideals is better qualified to increase the sum of social and moral values in the life of the community. Polygamy offers material advantages where physical occupation is left to the woman ; but the monogamist gains an increased sanctity for the whole range of his family life, while the moral restraints which he imposes on himself cannot fail to uplift and purify his own soul. The conflict is thus seen to lie between the material and the moral, and in this the Christian position cannot be compromised. Up to this point the Missionary has no difficulty, but when the circumstances of his work present him with problems in detail it must be admitted that he is at once confronted by issues which are embarrassing.

The Church of the Gold Coast has given to all missionary Churches an admirable example in its method of dealing with a difficult question. It has clearly recognized the social environment in which it found itself, and has been content to advance

to the Christian position by taking one step at a time in its legislative enactments, so that Mr. Dennis Kemp may justly claim that its legislation has been 'progressive.' If it had sought a position of compromise with African custom it might easily have recorded great numerical increase in the Church at the expense of the social and moral ideals that belong to the Christian community. On the other hand, if at the first it had insisted on the final Christian attitude, it would have shown itself wanting in sympathy with those who were entangled in social conditions from which they could only free themselves by inflicting unwarranted suffering upon many of its adherents, and by probably driving the rejected into a life of immorality. The Church was wisely guided in the course it adopted. In 1875 it discountenanced the payment of 'dowries,' by which term was meant not a gift to the bride from her relatives, but the price paid to those relatives by the bridegroom. The result of this custom was that the bride was really purchased, with consequences which require no illustration. The Church at the same time set its face against all extravagant expenditure usually incurred at the time of marriage, and 'any practice or custom inconsistent with the circumstances of the parties, and out of harmony with a true Christian spirit and deportment.'

In 1885 a further step was taken by enacting that 'No member of the Church should be allowed to marry a heathen man or woman; and no woman being a member of the Church should be allowed to marry a man who already had a wife'; and, further, that 'no man having more than one wife should be admitted as a member of the Church, and that it should be left with the Superintendent Minister to decide whether, on investigation of the case, the wives of polygamists should be received into Church fellowship.' This last concession was wisely made, as brides were not usually consulted in making matrimonial arrangements.

Five years later a further advance was made by recommending, first, that 'the perfect mutual agreement of the parties proposing to marry should be imperatively insisted on'; second, that 'the consent of the parents of both parties is highly desirable, and should if possible be obtained'; and third, that 'there should be no extravagant expenditure. A breach of this regulation should render the offending parties amenable

to discipline.' This last clause may read somewhat harshly, but those who have known how common and how fatal it has been for a Christian family to be hampered for many years by a heavy burden of debt incurred at marriage will recognize the wisdom of the rule.

Last of all, in 1893 the Synod decided to insist on the Christian rite of marriage as a condition of membership. 'In order to ease the situation, members married according to the Native law are permitted to be received "on trial for membership," on the distinct understanding that they cannot pass beyond the trial stage until they conform to the Christian rite.' Government, yielding to the plea of Missionaries, increased the number of marriage registrars, and a large number of chapels were licensed for the solemnization of marriage. The difficulty was greatly increased by the action of Government in 1885, when a clause was inserted in the marriage ordinance which legalized the Native marriage custom. Mr. Kemp, from whose writings the facts given above are gathered,[1] is of opinion that this was against the advice of the Colonial Government. 'It seems that a Secretary of State, legislating for Colonies with which he was more familiar than with ours, came to the conclusion that the Gold Coast Colony might as well be included in the list.' Naturally members of the Christian community were puzzled by the fact that the Church would not recognize what the State had declared to be legal. In spite of this, however, the Church on the Gold Coast may claim that it has maintained the Christian standard in the all-important matter of the family. Miss Kingsley argues[2] that in Africa the work of the home necessitates a plurality of wives, and that 'the African lady is quite indifferent as to what extent her good man may flirt with other ladies, so long as he does not give them more cloth and beads than he gives her.' Such arguments, if not open to a charge of flippancy, reveal an indifference to the moral question involved, and a scepticism as to the power of the Christian ethic to modify social custom, which are surprising in a Christian woman whose own position has been so entirely due to the very law which she disparages when applied to her African sister.

[1] *Nine Years on the Gold Coast*, chap. iv., and article in *Work and Workers*, 1893, pp. 298 ff.

[2] *Travels in West Africa*, p. 492.

The year 1887 saw the arrival at the coast of the Rev. Dennis Kemp. He brought to the service of Africa a cultured mind, a broad outlook, and an excellent habit of finding 'in least things an under-sense of greatest.' On the death of the Rev. H. H. Richmond he was appointed Chairman, and during the course of his administration the Church greatly increased, the membership growing from 5,610 to 7,664, while junior members numbered 5,410 as against 1,136. Chapels—some of them humble structures of bamboo, but homes of prayer and centres of Christian fellowship—had increased in number from 56 to 111, the whole expense of these having been met locally. Two items, however, are even more impressive than these. Catechists and day-school teachers numbered 263, as against 84 in 1887, and the number of Sunday scholars had grown from 1,760 to 11,984. In this last item we come upon Mr. Kemp's greatest contribution to West Africa. He was conspicuous in his care for the youth of the Church. Assisted by his wife, whose part in this work was by no means secondary, he made the Mission house at Cape Coast a home for young folk. Some twenty boys were admitted to share the ample accommodation of the Mission house. Food was supplied by the relatives and friends of the boys, and they were carefully trained in habits of cleanliness and order. Girls, too, were invited 'in companies' to explore the mysteries of an English-woman's work-room, and the effect upon them was seen in neatness and in a wholesome increase of self-respect. The Sunday school was thoroughly reorganized by the Rev. S. C. Hall, and the extraordinary increase in the number of scholars attending, as well as the large number of junior Church members, are to be attributed to the labour of this 'invaluable colleague.' While Dennis Kemp thus threw his energies into this work among the young he also recognized the importance of redeeming manual toil from the obloquy in which it was commonly held by Africans. The necessity of constant repairs to the Mission house led to his employing a teacher in instructing a few boys in the use of chisel, saw, and plane, more by way of recreation after study was over for the day. Beginning in this simple way, Mr. Kemp was able to report in 1892 an industrial school in which there were twenty-four carpenters, twelve smiths, and one house-decorator. This branch of the work was not the least valuable

of the many forms of educational work instituted by Mr. Kemp.

But the plans and projects of Mr. and Mrs. Kemp did not stop here. They aimed at establishing a school for girls in some centre where climatic conditions would enable women teachers to live with a fair prospect of health, and presently such a place was found at Aburi, twenty-two miles from Accra. It was hoped that a much-needed sanatorium for Mission workers on the coast might be built in connexion with the school. For a while there seemed to be every prospect of a successful enterprise. The scheme was heartily taken up by the Governor at Accra, who promised a private subscription in addition to a Government grant of one-eighth of the cost of the girls' school building. Other help was forthcoming, and after what seemed interminable delays the building was at last completed. In 1894 Mr. and Mrs. Kemp returned from furlough, bringing with them Miss A. J. Jackman to be the first principal of the school at Aburi. The house was not quite ready then, and Miss Jackman took up work at Accra for a few weeks, and later on served for a similar period at Cape Coast. Here she was attacked by the deadly fever of the coast, and in a few days this talented and devoted Missionary joined the great company of those who had laid down life itself in the service of Christ and His many children in Africa. This was a grievous set-back in the working out of the Aburi scheme.

From one point of view the Gold Coast may be considered as a vast emporium for trade, and missionary work in the area has been affected in consequence, for the coast became the gathering ground of the many tribes in the hinterland. Each town on the coast became a focus of many lines of human intercourse, and the number of languages represented at any considerable centre must have made it a veritable Babel. Along the coast the Fanti language was generally understood, but the common medium for the exchange of thought between Europeans and Natives was a jargon which had English for its basis, but which must at first have appeared to an Englishman as something grotesque and ludicrous. Prior to the appointment of the Rev. W. M. Cannell in 1882 some attempt had been made by Native Ministers and others to reduce Fanti to writing, for at that time anything like a script, to say

nothing of literature, did not exist. Mr. Cannell found that even in chapels used solely by Africans only English Bibles were to be found in the pulpits, and African Ministers thus had to translate their lessons as they read them. There must have been some remarkable versions of the Scriptures thus given to Fanti worshippers. We can scarcely wonder that for many years no remedy was to be found. The average number of years spent by a Missionary in this District was far too short for men already overburdened with pastoral and administrative work to attempt anything in the way of translation, and when they found that they could make themselves understood in the 'English' spoken by all, they, as a rule, made little attempt to acquire any of the vernaculars in use. Mr. Cannell had been appointed to educational work, but with commendable zeal he set himself not only to acquire Fanti, but also to secure for that language a literary basis by producing it in script. He first published his own exercises as a grammar, and the Fantis were amazed to find that there were definite laws governing the language which they spoke. This was followed by a dictionary, so as to secure a definite spelling for each word; and then the Gospels were published in Fanti, through the ever generous and ready help of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In the later stages of this work Mr. Cannell was assisted by the Rev. A. W. Parker, an African Minister, and Mr. J. P. Brown, and the three must have realized a great and sacred joy when at last they were able to give the written word of God to the Fanti people. This special work is recorded as typical of what has been done on many Mission-fields; its importance and value are obvious. In 1882 Mr. Cannell took a farther step in the direction of enriching the intellectual life of the Church by establishing a book dépôt at Cape Coast, accommodation being found in the Mission house. From the first this venture has been a great success, and within ten years the annual sales amounted to about a thousand pounds. From the profits of this undertaking generous grants were made to Church funds. But far beyond any such financial advantage must be placed the fact that good literature was brought within easy reach of the people, and the sales above recorded afford an indication that they were not slow in appreciating the fact. In 1895 the profits obtained by sales allowed the purchase of a printing-press,

with the necessary type, and this has still further developed the resources of the Church. It was a grievous disappointment that Mr. Cannell's health necessitated his withdrawal to England in 1887, but he has the satisfaction of knowing that during the five years of his missionary service he was able indefinitely to enlarge the whole intellectual side of Church life in addition to what he was able to do in fulfilment of his original purpose.

At this point in our record it will be well to review in a more connected way the educational work attempted on this field, since this branch of work is likely to receive far more attention than it has done hitherto. From the first elementary schools were established wherever it was possible to do so, but the supply of teachers was poor, both in number and quality, while anything like adequate supervision was impossible owing to the paucity of Missionaries and the extraordinary difficulty of travelling. Christian literature in the vernacular was, as we have seen, practically non-existent, and it must be confessed that under such circumstances educational results, strictly so-called, must have been scanty. But such schools served the purpose of bringing the children under Christian influence, and where the character of the teacher was satisfactory there was that ' preparation of the heart ' which accounts for the sudden and rapid growth of the Church in subsequent years. In 1876 the Rev. T. R. Picot opened a high school in the Mission-house at Cape Coast, but though this institution was the means of preparing many men for influential positions later on, it had not a very long life. Removals, owing to failure of health or to death, prevented anything like continuity of work on the part of European Missionaries. The school was closed for some years, during which there was nothing higher than an elementary school to be found in this District. It was afterwards reopened, and the work was carried on by African Ministers and laymen, greatly to their credit. But for a work so essential to a Church moving rapidly to independence such efforts only served to make the comparative failure more deplorable. The high school should have been the recruiting-ground for catechists, and from among these the ranks of the ordained ministry should have been continually filled.

It is true that to some extent this was done, but in a Church

whose dimensions promised to be so large the work needed to be drawn on a larger scale, and continuously and efficiently prosecuted. In 1893 Mr. Dennis Kemp was so convinced of this that he advocated the handing over of all pastoral work to African Ministers, subject to a general supervision on the part of European Missionaries, while the latter gave themselves up to educational work among the boys and girls of the District, so distinctly was the need of this work seen. Since 1901 that need has been met in some measure by sending candidates for the ministry to be trained at Sierra Leone, where first in Richmond College and later in the Fourah Bay College they had the advantage of coming under the guidance and teaching of the Rev. W. T. Balmer.[1] But while this later stage in ministerial training leaves little to be desired, the earlier stages of the high school and the catechists' training college remained in their former condition of inefficiency. The need of the former is doubly urgent, for not only are catechists to be expected from among its students, but the educated laity so essential in Church administration would naturally receive their education in the same school. In 1906 the Rev. W. Perkins, reviewing missionary operations along the whole coast, described this branch of work as 'languishing,' but held out the hope of the appointment of a Missionary possessing educational knowledge and experience to act as adviser and inspector. The Rev. W. F. Somerville had been appointed for such work in 1893, but, as we shall see, his energies were diverted into other channels.

The appointment to which Mr. Perkins specially referred was that of the Rev. J. D. Russell. He arrived at Cape Coast in 1904, and for nine years strove earnestly to secure for this work the attention it needed. On his arrival he described the methods adopted in most of the schools as primitive, though he added that 'the results were surprisingly good.' During the years that followed his reports insist upon the supreme necessity of development in this branch of the work. He rightly emphasizes the fact that unless an adequate training for catechists could be secured, it would be impossible to shepherd the large and increasing membership of the Church, nor could the many out stations be cared for as they should be. But while the higher education of the youth in the

[1] See p. 114.

District had been for years in our hands, it had not been found possible to keep a qualified principal in the collegiate school, with the result that the standard was lower than that of the sister colonies. The collegiate school referred to was the secondary school whose closing has been recorded. It was reopened during the chairmanship of the Rev. A. T. R. Bartrop, and in 1906 it was amalgamated with the Mfantsipim School, opened by Native gentlemen. Work in this school was greatly developed by Mr. Russell and Mr. Balmer, the latter of whom was lent by Sierra Leone during the period 1909 to 1911. It became finally known as 'The Richmond College and Mfantsipim School.' Here lay evangelists and Ministers are trained, and some attempt is made to secure higher education for boys. In 1912 the college was affiliated with the London University. The report given in the Centenary year shows that there were five men being trained in the college for the ministry and five others for the District agency; but in a Church the membership of which is 18,000, while its baptized adherents number 45,000, it cannot be considered that the provision made for educational work is adequate.[1] When this chapter was written in 1920 the membership had risen to more than 32,000.

Mission work among girls in this District has had much the same history as that among boys. Its equipment has been poor, and the work itself has been fitful, uncertain, and in consequence inefficient. It has been universally acknowledged that such work was essential to the building up of the Church; the Native members of the latter have been eager to have their daughters educated, and the Government of the Colony, considering such work to be, with industrial work, of first importance, have offered generous subsidies. But it is obvious that in its earliest stages such work must be under the direction of Englishwomen, and while hygienic conditions were such as at first obtained it was impossible for Englishwomen to live and work on the coast. Missionaries' wives have from time to time made laudable attempts in this direction, but the

[1] In February, 1911, the Richmond College and Mfantsipim School was immensely strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. Alec. A. Sneath, M.A., to be the principal, followed shortly after by Mr. S. J. Gibson, B.Sc., to act as vice-principal. In the Centenary year they were still carrying on their most important work; the capacity of the college and school was strained to the utmost, and the collegiate successes recorded were most gratifying to those who look with eager anticipation for a great development in this branch of work.

element of continuity so necessary in such work was entirely lacking. Too often the Missionary's wife paid with her life for the privilege of adding this burden to her already excessive load, or in a very few years, or even months, a hasty return to England became necessary. The consequence has been that as late as 1893 there was no school for girls in existence in the District.

Perhaps the most notable attempt was that made by Mrs. Dennis Kemp. Both she and her husband saw the necessity of such service, and we have seen with what promise the Aburi scheme was launched. The death of Miss Jackman in 1894, before she arrived at Aburi, was a blow that destroyed many hopes. In 1895 the Rev. J. S. Ellenberger was appointed to Aburi, and his sister began the work to which Miss Jackman had been appointed. The school, however, was never all that had been hoped, and with Miss Ellenberger's removal in 1906 the work was abandoned.

A better attempt was made in 1900, when Mrs. Ellis, whose husband had died during his chairmanship in 1897, offered to return to Cape Coast, and to take up work among women and girls at her own charge. A school was opened in July of that year, and was most successful from the first. Girls came from distant towns such as Axim, and by the close of the first year there were 36 boarders in residence, and 24 day girls in attendance. These numbers strained the accommodation of the school to the utmost. The Rev. W. H. Findlay, in the course of a secretarial visit to Lagos, spent a short time at Cape Coast, and expressed his astonishment at what Mrs. Ellis had been able to do in a few brief months. He spoke of the school as 'an excellent institution, admirably worked, and exhibiting most efficient arrangements.' The local appreciation of the school was very high, and it quickly became self-supporting. Steps were taken to secure better premises, and in 1901 Mrs. Ellis and her work were taken under the aegis of the Women's Auxiliary. It was hoped that a suitable colleague would soon be sent out to join her, and that thus 'the most lamentable gap in our missionary agencies in West Africa' would be filled. But this hopeful outlook was soon obscured. In 1903 Mrs. Ellis found it necessary to leave Cape Coast, and the boarding section of the school was broken up. This weakened the school almost to the point of extinction.

It became clear that unless some established organization at the home base undertook the regular supply and working of the school these lamentable abandonments would continue.

Now during the years 1897 to 1900 the Rev. Dennis Kemp had been associated with Miss Mary Kingsley in an attempt to secure for West Africa the ministry and help of women for women. After several attempts which resulted in failure Mr. Kemp approached Dr. Stephenson, at that time the Principal of the Wesley Deaconess Institute, and he entered into the scheme with the warm heart and enthusiasm which characterized him. In 1904 Sisters Annie McVicker and Ethel Worthington arrived at Cape Coast, the first of what it is hoped may prove a continuous stream of honoured workers in a field where the culture and refinement of Christian womanhood can only be imparted by Christian women. Since 1904 there have always been two deaconesses in residence, with a third on furlough. The results from a purely educational point of view have been admirable, but far beyond these is that which appears when we consider that the prospect of suitable candidates for the ministry is immeasurably increased when the mother in the home is a devout and educated Christian woman. The school also supplies a yearly and increasing number of trained Christian teachers ready to take up work in the Mission schools of the District.

The deaconesses did not stop here. The boarding school at Aburi, abandoned in 1906, was reopened by them at Accra in 1908, and though death has not spared the devoted women who have taken up this work[1] it has been continued on lines similar to those followed at Cape Coast. The expenses of the schools at both centres are met from local funds, board and lodging are provided for the sisters, and contributions are made towards the expenses of the Home Committee. The Centenary year thus finds this work at last established on lines which we hope will be permanent. The outlook suggests almost unlimited extension, and the deaconesses in England may be relied upon to respond to calls which will inevitably be made. Their response will mean the widening and deepening of their own spiritual life, and the bringing into the very heart of Africa the incalculable influence of Christian womanhood.

[1] In 1913 Sister Agnes Reed, B.Sc., and Sister Nellie Hopewell were both attacked by yellow fever. The first named died; and though the latter recovered she was invalided home and the school was closed for several months.

The closing decade of the nineteenth century was a period of startling advance in the Gold Coast Mission, but the decade which followed, and with which we now deal, is one of even more rapid growth, and offers the prospect of a future in which the Christian Church may easily attain both stature and power, spreading over the whole country from the coast to towns far north of Kumasi, and affecting every phase of a life which daily increases in material, moral, and spiritual force. To some extent this has been furthered by factors usually held to be external to the Church, but where men possess vision, insight, and power, there is nothing in the common life of man that can be called 'external' to the Church. Together with discoveries in the biological sphere which seem likely to control, if not to remove entirely, the causes of diseases peculiar to the tropics, there has come an enhanced appreciation of the illimitable natural resources of tropical Africa, and especially of this coast. Such products as cocoa, oil, and rubber are in increasing demand for modern industries, and their supply from West Africa is practically inexhaustible. The coast has long been known to possess a hinterland peculiarly rich in gold and other minerals, and only the deadly character of its climate and insufficient means of communication have hitherto prevented the rush to secure the precious metals which Africa offers to those who have the skill and courage to explore her trackless forests and vast mountain ranges. To-day harbours are being built where trading ships may defy the formidable surf of the coast, and the railway runs where Freeman and West toiled along the scarcely discoverable track which led to Kumasi.

Such developments are bound to affect the Church in its policy and operations. Centres which at first seemed to be of capital importance now drop into a lower position, while others rise as they fall. The lines of advance are determined for the Missionary by the roads along which the ever-increasing traffic runs, and new industries rapidly collect the population which supplies their labour, and calls for the ministrations of the Church. Thus Cape Coast Castle is rapidly losing its importance, and the seat of the Government has already been moved to Accra, while Sekondi, which a few years previously was an inconsiderable fishing village, was said to be in 1907 the largest town on the coast. As the coast terminus of the

railway to Kumasi, Sekondi thus becomes a centre of supreme interest to a missionary Church. Kumasi itself, destroyed so completely in the Ashanti war that Mr. Picot considered it doomed to final extinction, has risen from its ashes, and has become a great emporium of trade and a centre of extraordinary industrial activity. Practically the whole of the Ashanti country was found suitable for the cultivation of cocoa, and the development of the industry accounts for the shifting of the main centre of life and work. Such changes are not unwelcome to the Church. They bring with them increased facilities for travelling, and they bring together large communities in which the Church finds her opportunity, while the increase of material prosperity among the members of the Church enables that Church to meet more easily the claims of a rapidly expanding work. On the other hand, the shifting of the strategic centres in the operations of the Church entails expense in providing the necessary plant, and in this case those difficulties have been increased by the racial question. Europeans, engaged in developing these several industries, began to increase in number, and were found in places far inland. It has always been one of the happy traditions of the Methodist Church that its Missionaries should seek to provide as far as possible for the spiritual needs of their own countrymen, and that tradition has been worthily upheld. But in many instances it has not been found possible for the two races to worship together, and there resulted a duplicating of the offices of the Church which has often severely taxed the energies of the Missionary. Such matters, however, were far from daunting the Missionaries in this District, and their appeal to their people met with a response which showed that the increase of material prosperity had not destroyed their Christian zeal. New chapels were speedily built at both Sekondi and Kumasi as well as at other places, while facilities for holding public worship were sought at such centres as Obuasi, the largest mining township in the interior. A special and twofold interest gathers round the chapel at Kumasi. In 1893 the Rev. W. F. Somerville was appointed to the Gold Coast in the hope that he might take up the general supervision of Mission schools in the District, but during the Ashanti war his services as chaplain to the British Expeditionary Force were requisitioned by the military authorities, and at

the close of the war he offered to remain in the country which he had thus entered. He was a man of singularly bright disposition, full of enthusiasm, and most successful in any work assigned to him. On the death of his African colleague he continued to serve single-handed, and was eager to accept the many openings that presented themselves to him. But in doing so he, like many others, overtaxed his strength, and found himself with little power of resistance when attacked by fever in 1896, and so his name was added to the Roll of Honour in this District.

It was resolved that the new chapel in Kumasi should form his memorial, and it was erected under the shadow of 'the execution tree.' Thus there arose from the earth so often drenched with the blood of human victims a house of prayer, the birthplace of true freedom for many souls, and the consecrated memorial of a most beautiful Christian life. Before his death Somerville had written[1] to call attention to the Dwabens, who some time before had appealed to the Synod for the establishing of a Mission among them. The Dwabens were Ashantis who in 1880 had sought refuge in the British Colony from the ravages of civil war. They had settled for the most part in and about the town of Koforidua, two days' journey from Accra towards the north-west of that town. Somerville evidently shared the opinion expressed by Coppin that sooner or later the Dwabens would return to their own country, and he was anxious that they should find the Christian Church which had been their greater refuge in their exile awaiting them on their return. Within the ten years that followed his death that eager hope had been fulfilled, and the Rev. H. A. Riggall, writing from Kumasi in 1906, speaks not only of the Somerville Memorial Church, but also of a well-built Mission house. During the ten years an incredible change had come over this town so full of grim and ghastly memories. The principal streets were crowded with multitudes of peaceful traders, and it was rapidly becoming the centre of commerce for a vast expanse of country farther north. It seemed likely to become at no distant date the largest and most important town in the Colony. Officers of the British Government showed their appreciation of all that Missionaries had accomplished on the coast by urging an immediate

[1] See *Work and Workers*, 1895, p. 508.

advance, and especially the establishing of an industrial school in Kumasi itself. Up to the Centenary year there was no sign of any industrial work being started in Kumasi, but the progress of Christianity is not determined by the half-hearted efforts of the Church. The seed of the Kingdom is carried by every breath of wind—or may we not better say by the Spirit of God?—and it germinates in regions which are far in advance of the established agencies of the Church. Thus Mr. Russell describes the first visit of the European Missionary to Kintampo, one hundred miles north of Kumasi, and the most northerly outpost of Government in the province. One of the clerks in the Government office was a member of the Church at Aburi, and he felt it his duty to help the heathen around him to a higher faith by teaching and preaching. After a while he gave up his post under Government, and with it went the considerable salary he was drawing and the pension which awaited the end of his service. He obtained a piece of ground on which he built a chapel, and when the Missionary visited the place two years after he found a vigorous Church already in existence, and twenty candidates for baptism presented themselves. This was in 1910, and in the Centenary year there were in the Ashanti Mission 718 fully accredited Church members, with a baptized community of more than 2,600.

Going back a little, we find that in the year 1903 the Gold Coast Mission received a notable reinforcement. A. T. R. Bartrop, who had previously served in the Lagos District during the years 1884 to 1889, and had then returned to work in England, was appointed Chairman. Educational work was in the capable hands of J. D. Russell; W. A. Bethel was at Accra, and J. S. Ellenberger at Aburi; H. A. Riggall was in charge of the work at the gold mines, and J. Edge was stationed at Kumasi. The European staff was never stronger, and with an increasing number of able and devoted African Ministers a rapid development of the Church was to be expected. In 1907 the membership of the Church stood for the first time above 10,000, while the attendants at public worship numbered no less than 20,000, and there were close upon 7,000 children in the schools. This rapid growth continued, until in the Centenary year (1913) there were 13,799 members returned, with 4,000 on trial for membership, while of other baptized

adherents there were as many as 45,862. Junior members numbered 12,314, and in the elementary schools 9,653 scholars were on the rolls. At the time of writing this chapter (1920) the number of members has reached a total of 32,768, and the other returns show a similar increase.

The growth of the Church since 1913 does not properly fall within the purview of this History, but we may be allowed so much of a glance forward as this to emphasize our contention that the Methodist Church in West Africa is presented, in the order of Providence and as the harvest of seed sown by most lavish hands, with such an opportunity for the evangelizing of West Central Africa as can scarcely be described without running the risk of appearing to use the language of extravagance. Nor does the Church thus formed fail to meet the tests by which the spirit of a people is proved. In the consecration of both wealth and service the members of the Church reveal a spirit of highest quality. Against little more than £3,000 received from England they have raised locally the sum of £25,698 for the furtherance of the work of God in their own country, while an enthusiasm for missionary work far in the interior, up to the very limits of the area administered by the British, brings a widening outlook and the zest of life into the whole Church.

This great and rapid development has not been secured without sacrifice. In 1906 A. T. Jubb, who had arrived the year before to take the place of J. Edge, invalided home, laid down his life, as so many of his predecessors had done, and in 1909 the Chairman also died. Bartrop, as Chairman, had fully justified the confidence of the Home Committee in appointing him to this responsible position. He left behind him a noble record as administrator, Preacher, and man. He had a knowledge of West African life and character shared by few, and his unselfish devotion to his brother Ministers, White and Black, made him to be greatly beloved. By that time all those who formed the splendid staff of 1904 had returned to England with the exception of J. D. Russell, who was able to remain until 1913. H. A. Bethel, too, returned in 1910 for another spell of service.

The history of the Methodist Church on the Gold Coast would not be complete without some record, however slight, of the service rendered by African Ministers. The advance

of the Church in that region is to be attributed in part to the succession of able administrators who were true bishops of their flocks, but all their wisdom and tactful guidance of the Church would have been limited in scope, and seriously lacking in effectiveness, had it not been for the devoted service of their African brethren in the ministry of Jesus Christ. Most of these proved themselves loyal and faithful co-labourers, and won the unstinted approval of their European colleagues. Their educational advantages were slight, but their mental development in spite of this was more than sufficient to indicate what a Christian African ministry may be when fuller opportunities are afforded it. The Rev. Dennis Kemp,[1] in describing the different tribes in the District, acknowledges his indebtedness to the work of the Rev. J. B. Anaman,[2] a work which received noteworthy recognition when that Minister was admitted to the Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society. Another able Minister was the Rev. A. W. Parker, whose work in connexion with the translation of the Scriptures into Fanti has already been noticed. So conspicuous was this service that the Synod, with the cordial concurrence of the Home Committee, granted him leave of absence for six months, together with a gift of £100, to enable him to visit England, where, by the addresses he delivered in public meetings, he deservedly won the esteem of those who heard him. In addition to this he was an able administrator, and had great influence in the councils of the Church as well as among 'them that are without.'

Mention may also be made of the Rev. J. A. Solomon, who accompanied Freeman on his journey to Kumasi in 1841, and who, after prolonged service as a catechist, entered the ministry in 1853. In 1884 he entered upon a well-earned retirement, during which he loved to relate the story of the coming of the Gospel to his country, and the freedom conferred by it upon thousands of his fellow countrymen. J. O. Hammond excelled as a builder of chapels, but he is also remembered for his work as translator of the Scriptures. He was also 'an ideal Superintendent Minister, greatly beloved by his people. His accounts

[1] *Op cit.*, p. 8.

[2] It may be of interest to know that at the special request of His Excellency Governor Sir W. Brandford Griffith, Mr. Anaman acted as interpreter during the interview with the Ashanti ambassadors in Cape Coast, December, 1894. His Excellency was anxious that the views of Prempeh's representatives should be faithfully and impartially stated.—Dennis Kemp, *op cit.*, p. 272.

and statistics were at all times most accurately rendered, and with all these varied gifts he was the very essence of modesty.'

These outstanding names among those who have entered into the fuller service of the Church Triumphant are all that we, for want of space, may include in this record. But they may well serve, as we have already said, to show that an African Church contains material of excellent quality for the building up of the Church of Christ; and if these men, with such slender training as was possible in those early days, attained to pre-eminence in the several departments of Church life enumerated above, what may we not hope to see in the Church of the future? There is yet another item to be added to the list of their qualifications. These men were above all things men who loved the preaching of the Gospel, and through their faithful ministry of the word they were used by God to the winning of thousands of their fellow countrymen for Christ. Our record of such men is confessedly imperfect, but their better record is on high, and their sufficient memorial is to be found in the Church which they have built up in their own country. Their names can never be obliterated, and their successors are honoured in receiving the tradition which they have handed on as one by one they have passed to receive the ' Well done ' of the Master whom they loved to serve.

The administration of the Gold Coast Mission has been dovetailed into that of Lagos in a way which must have created difficulties for both Districts. In 1886, as already indicated, Lagos was made a separate District and placed under the charge of the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey. This was greeted with approval by those in that District, the local annual report speaking of it as ' a wise arrangement,' but in 1887 Halligey was put in charge of both Districts, residing first at Lagos, but removing to Cape Coast in 1889. In 1892 we find the Rev. H. H. Richmond in the Chair of the Gold Coast District, the administration of the Districts being again divided. This continued until 1901, when the Rev. Dawson Sutcliffe, at that time Chairman at Lagos, added the burden of the Gold Coast to his strong shoulders. In 1904 the Districts were again separated, Bartrop coming to the Gold Coast, where he died in 1910. He was followed by the Rev. W. R. Griffin, who remained in charge of the District until 1914, when he

returned to work in England, having been able to see and direct the great extension of the work already recorded. Doubtless this apparent vacillation in administration was due to the necessity of securing Missionaries of experience for the difficult and responsible position of Chairman, but the development since the beginning of this century has been so great that it is to be hoped that it will not be found necessary again to bring the two Districts under the episcopal care of one Missionary.

Of the many difficulties in the way of this great African Church there are two to which some more extended reference should be made. One is external and religious; the other is internal and moral; and we shall consider the second first. The drink question is an important one in all countries, but in Africa the deadliness of its peril has long been acknowledged. We may dismiss at once the idea so often held that the use of intoxicants was introduced in Africa by Europeans. The use of liquor distilled from the palm is indigenous in Africa, just as it is in India, and it is possible to contend, as some have done, that it does not bring in its train the social evils so manifest in England, and that it does not lead to criminal acts; and yet it is significant that Missionaries have long since declared war against the increasing habit, and, most significant of all, that the African Church has adopted a spirit of uncompromising resistance to it. There have not been wanting men, who have had the best interests of Africa at heart, deploring a traffic which they consider inimical to the wellbeing of the people of that country. Sir Harry Johnston is quoted by the Rev. C. W. Armstrong in his excellent little book *The Winning of West Africa* as saying:

> Drunkenness from palm wine (the chief Native alcoholic beverage) is regrettable, but it is not nearly so serious in its effect as drunkenness from distilled alcohol. The effect of distilled alcohol is so detrimental to the wellbeing, physical and moral, of the West African Negroes that all sincere well-wishers of the 'Coast' have long since united in hoping for prohibition. . . . Yet no arguments apparently, nor even private protests of Governors, can move the Colonial Office. . . . Their inaction is giving much discouragement to the efforts of Christian Missionaries to create an educated, industrious, peaceful Christian people of the coast tribes.

Mr. Dennis Kemp, from whose book, *Nine Years on the Gold*

*Coast*, we have so often quoted, takes the same view, and it seems to be one which is beyond question. But the strongest evidence of the peril with which any loose dealing with this evil is fraught is to be found in that in the Synods of the Church, in which African Ministers have greatly outnumbered their European colleagues, drastic resolutions have been passed against any sort of traffic with the evil thing. Thus 'No member of our Church is permitted to hold a licence for the sale of spirits. Some of our people have thus been compelled to sacrifice a considerable portion of their income in order to retain their connexion with us.'[1] Like Sir Harry Johnston, Dennis Kemp despairs of moving the Government to suppress the traffic in spirits, especially in view of the fact that the Colony marches with both French and German territory; but events have proved that in this case 'fears were liars,' for Mr. Armstrong records at least one result of the Great War which is wholly satisfactory:

> We are thankful to say that the Covenant of the League of Nations makes special reference to the liquor traffic in Africa as an abuse that must be suppressed. Throughout the whole of Africa, with the exception of the Union of South Africa and the Muhammadan lands along the Mediterranean seaboard, trade spirits are now prohibited, and all other spirits, such as whisky and brandy, are to be heavily taxed, and are only obtainable by special licence. This regulation actually came into operation in the Gold Coast Colony on April 1, 1919, and if the prohibition laws are carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, the newly established League of Nations will have rendered a service to the New Africa as great as that rendered by Great Britain to the old Africa in the abolition of slavery.[2]

The other great obstacle which the African Church faces is to be found in the quiet, persistent, and all but ubiquitous menace of Muhammadanism. It is now generally recognized that throughout the whole region of West and Central Africa the issue to be resolved is whether Islam or Christ is to secure the allegiance of the many tribes inhabiting these vast regions. It has been estimated that there are seventy millions of Africans, pagan and Muhammadan, among whom no missionary work is being done, and thirty millions of these are to be found in the Sudan, stretching across Africa from the northern boundaries of the Gold Coast Colony to the Nile. The

[1] Dennis Kemp, *op. cit*, p. 172. [2] *The Winning of West Africa*, p. 59.

Muhammadan element in this great accumulation of human life is far from being quiescent. Along the lines of trade the followers of Islam are incessantly moving, and every trader is a missionary for the faith he has accepted. The result may be estimated by the significant fact mentioned by the Rev. W. R. Griffin that while fifty years ago there were 2,000 Muhammadans in the whole district covered by the Sierra Leone Protectorate there are now in Freetown, the capital of that District, no less than 10,000. It is also universally recognized that while it is comparatively easy to secure the acceptance of Christ by pagans, it is exceedingly difficult, for reasons into which we need not enter here, to win the Muhammadan for Christ. So acute has the conflict between the two religions become that it would seem to some that it is in Africa that the greatest, if not the last, battle between the two will be fought.

The menace to the missionary work of the Church has been felt from the first, and the tragedy of the present is to be found in the fact that the failure of the Church efficiently to occupy these regions has allowed Islam to entrench itself in the general life and observance of those who might by this time have formed an efficient barrier to its further spread. Every year of further hesitation makes that tragedy more poignant. In 1885 the Rev. W. Terry Coppin made the statement that 'Islam has not yet established itself south of the Volta.' To-day there are thousands of Muhammadans in each of the large cities on the coast. Mr. Armstrong[1] cites an instance with which we must conclude our reference to a question the supreme importance of which is beyond dispute.

> On the borders of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast there is the important village of Yeji, which we have coveted for several years as a strategic outpost. It is the main gateway into the Colony, and thousands of Muhammadan traders pass through it yearly on their way to and from the coast. Four years ago the people of that village asked for a teacher, and, as we listened to the request, we had visions of a great campaign which had for its goal the capture of a vast area menaced by the Moslem faith. It is still (1920) only a dream, no nearer realization to-day than it was then. The people are waiting; the money is available; but the man has not yet been discovered. It is not merely a question of another pioneer Missionary; it is a question as to whether Christ or Muhammad shall have the allegiance of 300,000 people. 'Too late' has been written across more than one hopeful

[1] *Op cit.*, p. 61.

enterprise in recent years; must this also be reckoned amongst the number? It is a question that must be answered at the home base; we on the field can do no more.

Here, then, we bring to a close our survey of one of the most remarkable Mission-fields which have ever been evangelized by the Methodist Church. It may be questioned whether even the signal success which attended missionary efforts in the South Seas is greater than that which it has been given to the Church to witness on the Gold Coast of West Africa. The story is one of the most thrilling of the many to be found in Missionary annals. It begins with the passion of the evangelist; it is followed by the sacrifice of men and women who laid down their lives to bring men to Christ; and it is before us now in the overflowing harvest which has sprung from that 'seed of the Church.' The story is not yet closed; its climax not yet reached. What that climax is to be depends upon the measure in which the Church responds to the manifest call of God.

In a striking address given during the sessions of the Conference held in Leeds in the year 1914 the Chairman of the Gold Coast Mission, the Rev. W. R. Griffin, spoke of the illimitable possibilities of development in this Mission. He described the commanding position of the Methodist Church in this area, and referred to its wealth and its culture. Then he went on to speak of the movement in Apollonia. This is a district to the west of the Gold Coast, and covers an area of 3,000 square miles. Its chief town, Axim, has long been known as one of our Mission stations, but in the hinterland behind it fetishism was rife, and human sacrifice was known to exist. Into this territory there came an African evangelist, under whose preaching a great revival took place. Literally thousands sought admission to the Christian Church, having burned the symbols of fetishism and given themselves to Christ, so that Mr. Griffin was able to speak of Apollonia as 'becoming Christian *en masse*.' To shepherd these sheep claimed by the great Shepherd of the flock will tax the resources of the Church to the utmost, but the work must be done, whatever the cost. Pioneer Missionaries must be sent out, men full of power and of the Holy Ghost, and the whole work of the Church in that area must be reorganized by those who have both vision and wisdom. The advanced base of

the Church's war must be strengthened in every possible way, and the training of an indigenous ministry must become the first interest of the Church. Then the last chapter of the history of this great African Church may well be written, and the title of that chapter will be ' The Full Corn in the Ear.'

## IV

## THE LAGOS DISTRICT

John Milum—'Remember, Lake Chad'—The Niger—Domestic Slavery—John Rhodes—J. T. F. Halligey—Ibadan—Those Fallen on the Field—Bryan Roe—Work in Dahomey—Alfred Bartrop—Ijebu Remo—The Way to Nigeria—Ilesha—Medical Work—An Official Visit—Educational Work—'The Shadows of Futurity.'

THE coming of the Gospel to Lagos and the Yoruba country has already been told.[1] Up to the year 1878 this District formed a constituent part of the Gold Coast District, and was administered as such. The history of the Church in Lagos is thus interwoven with that of the District already described, and it is unnecessary to repeat here what has already been written. It was during the administration of the Rev. John Milum that the desirability of separation was first mooted, and this Missionary was the first in a succession of great and honoured Chairmen under whose guidance the Lagos District has made the rapid advance it is now our business to relate.

Milum arrived at the Gold Coast in 1871, when he took part in a great revival. The whole district was affected by the gracious influences then felt, and many were added to the Church. When he first came to Lagos the membership of the Church was 671, and when he left it in 1881 that number had increased to 940. He was a man of well-furnished mind and thorough culture, the fruit of wide observation and great diligence. He was also characterized by true manliness added to a spirit of friendly consideration, and these combined to render his administration of discipline judicious, firm, and conciliatory. But beyond all these great gifts he had the supreme endowment of vision. He saw the vast tracts of Southern Nigeria brought into the kingdom of Christ, and he had dreams of starting 'almost at once a Central African Mission.' Yet he was far from being 'visionary.' His biographers speak of his great patience, and of the solid character

[1] See chap. iii., p, 158.

of his work. There can be little doubt that the remarkable extension of the Church in this District owes much to the broad and stable foundations which he laid. When the two Districts were separated the European staff at Lagos consisted of the Chairman, the Rev. Ellis Jones, who had charge of the training institution, and the Rev. W. Terry Coppin, who had been appointed to educational work. In addition to these there were six African Ministers and six catechists. There were six Circuits in the District. It will be instructive to note here that within the period 1878 to 1913 these numbers have greatly increased. In the Centenary year there were eleven European Missionaries and 22 African Ministers and 86 catechists, while the number of fully accredited members had risen from 600 to 6,000. In 1919 the number of members in the Church stood at 9,000, and the signs of further increase were abundant.

The new District now covers an area of nearly 29,000 square miles, with an unlimited area for expansion in the hinterland to the north. On the eastern side of this area the Church Missionary Society was at work, and the North German Missionary Society occupied a district to the west. The newly constituted Synod entered upon the period of its independent existence with a fine enthusiasm, and events have shown that its first report contained no empty boast when it declared that while the area to be covered had its stated boundaries,

> we have no intention of allowing our energies to be cramped, and the aggressive spirit of the Church to be confined, within the countries embraced in these limits ; but as the way becomes clear, and as opportunities offer, it is our desire to press towards the countries of Central Africa. In the strength of our youth as a District we are preparing for great undertakings.

The spirit of the new Chairman is manifest in that statement, but that spirit was not unknown at Bishopsgate, for in a letter written to the Secretary by the Rev. M. J. Elliott, who joined Milum in 1879, the writer speaks of his earnest desire to take up work in the interior of that country, and reminds the Secretary that his parting words to the outgoing Missionary were ' Remember, Lake Chad ! ' Elliott made, as we shall see presently, a brave attempt in the direction of Lake Chad, but that *ultima Thule* has not yet appeared on the list of stations occupied by the Lagos Mission.

Milum had to begin his movement towards that distant goal under the heavy blow which has taken the heart out of many a Missionary. His wife had recently joined him, when it was found that her health was so seriously impaired that an immediate return to England was imperative. She left Lagos hoping for a speedy return, but it was not to be. She died and was buried at sea. Her stay in Africa had lasted just five weeks! The blow would have broken the spirit of most men; but Milum found that the grace of God was a sufficient help, and the next year found him opening a new station at Shonga, an important town on the Niger, and proceeding up that river with two colleagues, Mr. Williams and a catechist, James Allekura Sharpe, the latter of whom he hoped to leave behind to commence work at a suitable post when the time came for him to return to the coast. He considered that the best way of reaching the inland districts was to travel by the river, the old route through Abeokuta being made difficult by reason of the incessant tribal wars in that region. He expected to be able to establish a new base for missionary operations on the other side of the disturbed area and to be in a position to start his 'new Central African District.'[1] If the Church at home had shared his vision, and had allowed its Missionary to fulfil his purpose, the history of events in the Lagos District might have recorded an advance far beyond what, by the grace of God, it has been able to effect. But it was not to be, and in after years the unerring Spirit revealed the true line of advance. Sharpe, however, was left at Egga, in the Nupé District, 300 miles up the Niger, and not far from the better known Bida, where Christian traders from Lagos formed a nucleus of what it was hoped would speedily become a strong and flourishing Church. The following year Sharpe reported constant accessions from both the Muhammadan and the pagan community, and Elliott was sent to join him. Here at last Elliott found himself upon the borders of the Lower Sudan, and the prospect of the Central African Mission grew very bright, but the work was never taken up after Elliott's enforced return, and this most hopeful enterprise was abandoned. Elliott himself was invalided home in 1886, just escaping with his life. The circumstances

[1] In the Report of 1881 the new station is mentioned, and following its name is the plea '*Four* European Missionaries wanted!'

which led to the abandonment of this Mission will be related in their proper place.

After his return from his journey up the Niger, Milum proceeded to visit the countries lying to the west of Lagos, and just as he had used the river in the previous year, so now he used the extensive lagoons which lie between Lagos and the mainland, hoping to establish a chain of stations linking Lagos with Porto Novo, Whydah, and the regions still farther west, thus making it unnecessary to travel by sea, where the Atlantic surf was often the cause of delay, and sometimes of disaster. The Popo section of the Lagos District thus entered —or, to give it its more modern name, Togoland—lies in territory which was formerly tributary to Dahomey. When the coast of Africa was divided by the chief European nations into spheres of influence, Germany obtained a strip of the coast about twenty-two miles in length, and situated between the French sphere of Dahomey and the British sphere of the Gold Coast. These two sections of the coast, therefore, were under alien government, and to the ordinary difficulties experienced by our Missionaries were added the increasing opposition of Romanists, and not unfrequent complications arising from international suspicions and rivalries. Before 1880 there was no Protestant society throughout the whole of Dahomey, but in March of that year the Rev. E. J. Williams, accompanied by the Rev. A. E. Franklin, an African Minister, took up his residence at Little Popo, and a few members were speedily enrolled. Milum anticipated a bright future for this western division of his District, an anticipation fully realized; for, if we may anticipate events in our record, when in 1912 the Porto Novo Circuit celebrated its Jubilee it was able to report twelve stations within its borders, with a membership of 737, while the number of baptized adherents was nearly twice as many. A similar report comes from Little Popo ; and the whole of Dahomey—the country which Freeman sought in vain to enter—now lies open to the Christian Church, and petitions for our Missionaries to establish stations in towns far in the interior are frequent.

Returning to Lagos, we find the Rev. T. W. Winfield describing the Church in that city as he found it on his arrival in 1880. There were then four good chapels in the city, with large congregations and a zealous staff of office-bearers in

each. The organization and general guidance of the Societies were as complete as in a well-ordered Circuit in England, with trustees and building committees eager to discharge their appointed duties. There was also a school board, managing and financing all elementary schools in the city, a Sunday School Union, which supervised all Sunday schools, and—what was perhaps the most hopeful feature—a Juvenile Association, which not only raised funds for extension purposes, but sought a more direct method of co-operation by personal service. It is clear that the Church at Lagos was completely organized, and full of life.

The situation at Abeokuta—never a very easy one—was made difficult about this time by an incident which shows how, when one member of the Christian Church suffers, the other members are sharers in its afflictions. The Committee of the C.M.S. adopted measures for removing relics of barbarism remaining in their communion. These seem to have been mostly connected with a system known by the name of 'Domestic Slavery.' Resenting these measures, a mob of infuriated Christians, joined by heathen neighbours, attacked the Mission station, and for some time the lives of the Missionaries were seriously threatened. Our own Church had never tolerated the keeping of domestic slaves by its members, and the attitude of our agents was known to be against the system, so that for several days our agents were in great suspense and anxiety, and the work of the Church was seriously hindered by the excitement attending the outbreak.

Domestic slavery on this coast was sometimes dignified by the name of 'House Rule,' and it was claimed to be a survival of the patriarchal system of government, which existed in Nigeria, as in other countries, for many centuries. According to this system the central authority in any community, whether that of the family, the city, or the tribe, was the *father*, and all subordinates were looked upon as being in some sort 'apprentices.' In the western province the father of the house was subordinate to the father of the district, and he in turn was subject to the paramount chief. Instances of domestic despotism were, therefore, less frequent where any such act might be brought to the notice of a higher authority. But in the central and eastern provinces such checks did not exist, and the head of a house was unfettered in his use, or

abuse, of power. Even in the western provinces it is conceivable that the extortion of labour and unremunerated service might obtain without notice being taken of the wrong, and the actual condition of subordinates might not differ appreciably from that of the slaves of former times. This probably explains why our Missionaries have sometimes spoken of 'slavery' as existing in a British Colony. It was some effort to dissociate the Church from a system so liable to abuse that led to the attack on the C.M.S. agents, whose sphere of service then lay in the eastern province. Of course there will always be those who prophesy social chaos as the inevitable result of any attempt to ameliorate the condition of men and women injuriously affected by such a system, and in 1901 the 'House Rule Ordinance' was passed into law, thus legalizing the system. It should not, however, be difficult, by a measure of devolution, to secure whatever benefit an uncivilized country may obtain in a system of patriarchal government without offering an opportunity for unscrupulous heads of families to restrict the proper freedom of individuals.

In 1881 the Rev. T. W. Winfield succeeded Williams at Little Popo, from which base he sought to recommence work at Whydah. At first the local chief seemed to be most friendly, but later on he absolutely forbade all Christian work in his domains, fearing that, if the power of fetishism were destroyed, his authority within his realm would be threatened. This year saw the return to England of the Rev. John Milum after ten years of service. During that time he had well and truly laid the foundations of the Christian Church in the Lagos District.

On two subsequent occasions he revisited the coast on special commissions, but his chief work in Africa was finished, and after a few more years of service in England he passed to his rest in 1901. He was followed in the Chairmanship by the Rev. Joseph Rhodes, who had previously served in the District during the years 1869 to 1871, residing during that time at Porto Novo. Rhodes was in his own way quite as remarkable a man as Milum. His gift differed from that of his predecessor, but it was of equal value. For the crying need of West Africa was, and remains, a literature in the vernaculars used by the many different tribes of that country, and Rhodes was a great linguist. How great may be judged from the fact that though

his years on the coast, counting both periods of service, amounted to only five, he acquired no less than six West African languages, including Arabic. His proficiency as a linguist was recognized by his subsequent election to the Philological Society. During his years in English Circuits he translated the Bible into Dahomeyan, and more than 200 of Wesley's hymns were versified in the same language. He also prepared primers and other school books, which were of great use in the schools. To this conspicuous gift he added that of a great evangelist, and it was in the course of his ministry that Prince Ademuyiwa, of whom we shall hear presently, yielded himself up to the service of the Prince of Peace. Here, then, was a missionary chief who might be expected to do great things for the Churches spring up in Lagos, Dahomey, and Togoland. But God fulfils His purposes in ways that are other than those which seem good to men. Within the first year of his Chairmanship he was stricken down by fever, and returned to England a broken man, bearing in his body the stamp and seal of his devotion—the true 'marks of the Lord Jesus.'

It was during the year of Joseph Rhodes' administration that the District was divided into the four sections—Yoruba, with Lagos for the 'Circuit town'; the Western Section, with Porto Novo for centre; Togoland, with Little Popo; and the Nupé or Northern Section, which was shortly after abandoned. After the departure of Rhodes there followed a short interregnum, during which the Rev. W. Terry Coppin was appointed 'Acting Chairman,' until a Missionary of experience to supervise the rapidly developing Church could be found. Such a Missionary was found in the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey. No better choice could have been made. As we have seen, Halligey had already served at Sierra Leone, and for a short time on the Gambia. In his new appointment he had to take charge of the Gold Coast District, as well as of Lagos, and thus he has the unique record of having served in every one of our West African Missions. In each he proved himself worthy of the trust of his Church.

He had hoped and expected to develop the new Mission in Nupé; and it speaks volumes as to his recognition of the possibilities and needs of this District that he asked the Missionary Committee for a reinforcement of six men. Nor,

as we read the record to-day, can that request be deemed excessive. But the Church at home has never been ready to respond to such demands, reasonable though they might appear, and Halligey brought with him to his new appointment only one new recruit—the Rev. Bryan Roe. A further and embarrassing disappointment awaited him. He had been informed by the Secretaries that he would find awaiting him in Lagos sufficient funds to enable him to take up Milum's great scheme for Central Africa, but he found not only that there were no funds available for that purpose, but also that there was not enough to cover the ordinary expenses of the District for more than four months. Not only had the development in Nupé to be abandoned, but the Synod asked its newly appointed Chairman to return at once to England, and to lay before the Committee the serious financial crisis with which it was confronted. The Synod further pointed out that the development of work in the Niger Delta would entail a large financial expenditure and would call for a considerable increase of the European staff, while for some years the result would be out of all proportion to the effort made. Meantime the districts to the north and west of Lagos, teeming with population and now open to their advance, were clamorous for their coming. Another fact which weighed with them was that the Church Missionary Society had centres of work in the Niger belt which were by that time well established, while our Society was the only one at work on the borders of Dahomey and Togoland. In the Comity of Missions, as in other matters, the Church on the Mission-field is often in advance of the Church at home.

Halligey returned from England in October, having made satisfactory arrangements with Bishopsgate and bringing with him two more Missionaries—the Revs. J. D. Sutcliffe and J. H. Willington. The latter returned to England after four years, but Sutcliffe was to give no less than twenty years of service to West Africa. Halligey at once set about extending the area of the Church's service in the Yoruba country, and in the course of one of his earlier journeys became the victim of an outrage which at one time threatened to be serious. The chiefs of the country through which he had to pass were at that time at war with the people of Dahomey, and all strangers were suspected of hostile intentions. There can

be no doubt, too, that the parcels carried by the missionary party—containing their food and other necessaries and barter goods in districts where coin was not generally used—during a protracted tour suggested substantial 'loot,' the value of which was increased enormously when gossip was added to cupidity.

A deliberate attack was made upon the party at Abeokuta, and four of Halligey's attendants were carried off, on the pretext that they were emissaries of the Dahomeyans. Halligey himself was detained, and found himself to all intents and purposes a prisoner. He was able, however, to get a letter through to the Governor at Lagos, who promptly intervened, and after a somewhat grotesque 'trial' the prisoners were released, though not before the men with Halligey had been shamefully handled. In view of the unsettled condition of the country the Governor advised the abandonment of the route proposed, and Halligey returned to Lagos. Presently messages came from towns farther inland disclaiming all sympathy with the outrageous conduct of the Egbas, and invoking Halligey to establish missionary centres among them. The following year, therefore, they again set out, taking this time the route through the Ijebu country, and Mission agents were at length appointed to Ibadan, Oyo, Isseyin, and Ogbomoso—towns which remain to this day on the list of stations occupied. Halligey subsequently visited Abeokuta again, to find that his former enemies had changed into friends, and that the things which had happened to them in their first visit turned out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel.

In March, 1888, Halligey was at Ibadan, a town of over 200,000 inhabitants. of which we shall have more to say. Here they were well received, the people being anxious to show how superior they were to the unruly folk of Abeokuta. In the course of this tour an incident took place which may be recorded as one of several similar occurrences. Travelling with the missionary party was a woman who twenty years before had been carried off into slavery. In Lagos she had found freedom, and now sought the relatives from whom she had been torn. One day she was making inquiries of a man who had been met on the road, and presently found to her joy that she was talking to her own father. The mother was not far away, and on the same day she was restored to both

her parents. Such an incident was a happy credential for a missionary party to offer to the long-suffering victims of the slave-raider. This happened at Fiditi, a town which greatly attracted Halligey, though it was not then effectively occupied. So they came at length to Ogbomoso, the northern limit of their journey, where an excellent site for Mission premises was given. On their return they revisited Oyo and Isseyin, where again they received from the ruling chiefs land for the erection of Mission buildings.

Two days after reaching Lagos, Halligey started again on his missionary journeys. This time he moved westwards towards the two centres of Porto Novo and Little Popo. At the latter place he found the king in great distress because the Germans had 'taken his country.' While at Little Popo Bryan Roe had a severe attack of the dreaded blackwater fever. With the greatest difficulty he was got on board a passing steamer. To move him at all seemed a rash thing to do, and the doctor disclaimed all responsibility, but sea air worked marvels, and a valuable life was saved for a few more years of service. In the middle of this year Halligey returned to England for furlough, but in March of the following year he was back at Lagos, and on his way to visit the Churches he had founded the previous year. On reaching Ibadan he found that a small chapel had been built. It consisted of a parapet wall of about three feet in height, covered by a roof of rough thatch, with three feet space between the wall and the eaves of the roof—such was the modest house which formed the first home of the Church in Ibadan. A more substantial building has long since taken its place, but that first simple house of prayer was the birthplace of many souls. In each station visited this apostolic Missionary was received with tumultuous joy. There is always a welcome for the Gospel in West Africa. The return journey was made difficult by reason of the inter-tribal wars which then disturbed the country, but at last Halligey, completely exhausted, and in the grip of malarial fever, staggered into his home at Lagos. It is easy to read the record of such a journey, but imagination may be summoned to realize its conditions, and to fill in the blanks which the Missionary leaves unfilled. The grandeur of forest scenery would but emphasize the loneliness of the Missionary passing through. Always there was the physical

weariness of the long march, the malodorous hut in which the night would often be spent, and the never-ceasing menace of fever in the air. Barbaric pomp in the reception of Native chiefs was a thing that called for endurance, not for self-gratulation, and the care for the small and, as some would say, insignificant Churches, left under very elementary spiritual direction, with countless inducements for their members to yield to the fascination of the fetish or to surrender to the lusts of the flesh—all these things formed a burden enough to crush most men. But not the man who hears his Master say, 'I have chosen you and ordained you that you should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain.' In the Centenary year there were 439 members in Abeokuta, 322 in Ibadan, and 785 in the Yoruba Interior Mission. During this last part of Halligey's service from 1887 onwards, he bore the burden of administration in both the Lagos and the Gold Coast Missions, and we may well imagine that the rapid development in both Districts must have carried with it a strain which few men could have endured. Yet his journeys into the interior of both Districts were incessant, and when the time came for him to retire in 1891 he must have laid down the burden of these laborious days with both regret and relief. In the course of this last period of service he was called to suffer two of the greatest sorrows of all those known to the Missionary. The death of a beloved and trusted colleague is one. That may be borne in view of the higher service to which he is called, but the heavier burden is found in the moral death of the man who has entered upon the service of Christ, with solemn vows of complete surrender binding him to loyalty. In 1884 a young Missionary was sent to Lagos. His intellectual attainment was perhaps above the average, and it was hoped that he would be able to undertake the educational work always clamouring for attention in these great African cities. He was unable to accomplish much in this direction, though probably through no fault of his own, but his character and conduct gave serious concern to his colleagues. In 1886 he was appointed to pioneer work in Little Popo, in the hope that a change of sphere and of service might help him. That hope was not realized. Grave charges were brought against him, and, after examination, his name was removed from the ministerial roll. He afterwards took up civil employment in

Nigeria, fell into dissolute habits, and died a death of dishonour. Such cases are happily rare on the Mission-field, and when it is borne in mind that the Missionary often lives alone in an atmosphere fraught with immoral suggestion, and sometimes with direct inducements, we may well glorify the grace of God which enables all but a few to exhibit the strength of self-control and the purity of the Christian character.

The second sorrow that came to Halligey occurred when he had already left Lagos and was visiting Cape Coast on his way to England. This was one which was all too common among those who have served in this country where the great word 'Sacrifice' is writ large upon the whole fabric of the Church. In 1890 the Rev. T. E. Williams, one of many esteemed African colleagues, died at Lagos, and in the Synod which was the last of Halligey's administration the young Missionary, A. C. Matthews, was appointed to the same station. He had been little more than a year in the District, and he was a man in whom was to be found a remarkable combination of missionary qualities. He was fearless, yet prudent; resourceful, yet saintly in his devotion; truly evangelical in spirit, yet with a scholarly side to him which had enabled him to acquire within a single year considerable proficiency in the use of the vernacular tongue. Halligey left him at Lagos, apparently in perfect health, while he went on to conduct the Synod at Cape Coast Castle, but while there he heard that the ardent young Missionary, whose life seemed to promise more than that of most, had been smitten down with fever, and had passed to

> Those great offices that suit
> The full-grown energies of heaven.

The mortality among European Missionaries in this District has been curiously fluctuating, and contrary to the general expectation that, as time went on, and hygienic conditions improved, the death-rate would decrease. From the time when the first Missionary—the Rev. E. A. Gardiner—arrived in 1854 until 1890, in addition to the deaths of three ladies—the wives of Missionaries—only two men were called to make the supreme sacrifice. These were James Cuthbert (1865) and William Penrose (1877). But after 1890 there came in swift succession the deaths of A. C. Matthews (1891), J. F.

Mühleder (1894), Bryan Roe (1896), Mrs. Sutcliffe and J. Gifford (1897), C. R. Johnson (1899), E. Brownscombe (1901), F. A. Lees (1902), and H. Arnett (1907). When it is noticed that during the same period there occurred only two deaths of Missionaries in the adjacent District of the Gold Coast, this lamentable 'Roll of Honour' seems to indicate that the conditions of service in this District were at the time peculiarly exacting, and it must never be forgotten that while the advance of science has greatly increased the chances of life, the climate of the Niger Delta still remains a perpetual menace to the health of men exhausted through bearing an excessive burden of care and anxiety. A description of the conditions under which service in these regions is attempted alike by European Commissioners and Missionaries is given by E. D. Morel in a work entitled *Nigeria : Its Peoples and its Problems* :

> For six months of the year a very large portion of the Central and Eastern Provinces is partially submerged. The Niger overflows its banks, every forest rivulet becomes a river, the creeks and channels spread their waters upon the land, the forest is flooded over an enormous area, and the pathways intersecting it are impassable. It is in circumstances such as these that District Commissioners have to keep in touch with their districts, not infrequently spending days and even nights in dug-outs, under conditions which may be better imagined than described ; marching in the rear of weary carriers through reeking, soaking, steaming forest ; negotiating streams swollen into torrents ; camping where and when they can, the boots they remove getting mouldy in a night, the clothes they hang up wringing wet, when they come to put them on again ; add to this a body often plagued with malaria and rheumatism, poorly nourished with sometimes insufficient and usually untempting diet, tormented by stinging insects, and a faint idea can be formed of conditions, during the rainy season, of a life which even in the dry season calls upon the utmost reserves of a man's moral fibre, to say nothing of his physical powers.

We have not dwelt as we might have done upon the many lives that have been offered up in the service of Christ on this coast. To do so would have meant tempting the reader through mere iteration to take such sacrificial offerings as a matter of course. But we may well consider here the exquisite passage[1] in which the Rev. W. H. Findlay has once and for all spoken of this special feature of the West African field :

> Our men and women have shown themselves ready to die for

[1] See *Work and Workers*, 1901, p. 235.

Christ's sake in all lands; Fiji, China, South Africa, have their sad records of martyrdom. But nowhere have our Missionaries so to endure to live in the continual presence and atmosphere of death. Fresh from college, the ruddy young Missionary goes to the lonely Mission house whence the coffin has been borne. He tends the graveyard where one and another of his predecessors have been laid. He hurries to the bedside of a dying comrade. Every month, every week, there is in the heavy air the beating of the wings of the angel of death, and it is with that sound in his ears that he lives and works for God and Methodism. He has to bear the strain of loneliness also, for rarely has he the comfort and strength of wife and child, or the cheery presence of a colleague. Yonder by the weird lagoon, or in the dark forest, or in the huge and barbarous city, the young man goes to live, and witness, and work, alone. And he leads this lonely and perilous life, be it remembered, without the support and encouragement of our applause. He is so young, so little known, so seldom in evidence on our platforms, that he has no chance to gather the stimulus and the cheer which come from the realized sympathy of the Churches at home. West Africa is vaguely conceived as just a dreary and ill-fated section of our wide Mission-field; and the West African Missionary—you notice his name for the first time when you read his obituary. And yet in these grim surroundings, hidden away from the eye of the Churches, I found him, as I went from station to station, serving God and Methodism as cheerfully, as piously, as earnestly, as any young Minister in the most comfortable circuit in England. The days of heroism in Missions are not over; beyond cavil in West Africa, but not less really in our other Mission-fields, there still survives the heroic strain, the readiness to do and bear, and, if need be, to die, for the world's salvation.

Halligey was followed in the Chair of the District by the Rev. H. H. Richmond, who was able to remain on the coast for one month. In 1893 the two Districts were again divided, Dennis Kemp taking charge of the Gold Coast and Bryan Roe of Lagos. Roe had been preceded by Bartrop when he entered upon his work in 1885. The two men had been contemporaries in Richmond College, and were strongly contrasted. Bartrop was quiet and restrained in demeanour, and gentle almost to diffidence in his earlier years, though he was earnest and determined enough, as his subsequent service as Chairman of the Gold Coast District fully proved. Roe, on the other hand, was a man of abounding vitality. He was pre-eminent as an evangelist. He was endowed with the great gift of being able to bring men and women to decision, and seldom preached during his student days without seeing that special fruit to his ministry. When he came to Africa he was not

long in finding that his special endowment was as effective in his new sphere as it had been in England. On his arrival at Lagos there was some delay in his proceeding to his appointed station, and he at once began a series of services for the deepening of spiritual life in the Church at Lagos. At the close of his first service some eighty persons came forward to declare themselves the seekers of a fuller life in Christ, and this was repeated night after night, until several hundreds had been added to the Church. In one of his letters written at this time Roe speaks of the calmness and reasonable quietness of these converts, as disproving the common opinion that such revivals among Africans are characterized by wild and exciting scenes. He also speaks of his appeals as based upon the necessity of a complete moral change in those who would yield themselves up to Christ. The Divine abhorrence of sin was always prominent in his addresses. This immediate fruit made him the more eager to begin the pioneer work on which his heart was set. In 1888 he was sent to Togoland, when it became evident that in spite of the facilities in travel afforded by the Niger route, the true line of advance was to be found on the west rather than on the east. He began his Mission to Togoland with some feeling of disappointment, but speedily gave himself up to the work of his new 'circuit' with characteristic enthusiasm. Over-exertion brought on an attack of fever, and, as we have seen, he barely escaped with his life.

In 1891 Roe returned to Togoland and found that considerable advance had been made during his absence. 'Congregations, schools, and finances all show very gratifying progress.' He also comments upon the serious obstacles presented by polygamy and slavery. 'Owing to polygamy we have scarcely twelve men outside our own agents in full Church membership.' He is convinced that the remedy is to be found in the Mission school. 'The more attention we pay to the training of the girls the sooner will the curse of polygamy cease.' It is worthy of record that this pronounced 'evangelist' was whole-hearted in his advocacy of educational work. 'The most direct and productive evangelistic work will be accomplished by means of Mission schools. Those who grow up in heathenism at a very early age become polygamists.' He also refers to a scheme which was put forward about this time in order to

meet the difficulties created by the German occupation of Popo—now called Togoland—and the French occupation of Dahomey. The administrative Governments of those districts demanded that instruction in the schools should be given in their respective languages. The demand was a perfectly natural one, and the many and varied agencies of the Methodist Church made it possible to meet it. In 1892 the Rev. Johannes F. Mühleder—' the first priceless gift of German Methodism to our West African Mission '—arrived at Little Popo, and later on the Rev. Henri Arnett was sent by the Church in France to begin work in Dahomey. But in each case the satisfaction felt in these admirable appointments was short-lived. Mühleder died in 1894 after only fifteen months of service. He was followed by the Rev. Karl Ulrich, who was able to remain at work until 1901, and his successor, the Rev. Gottlieb Rieker, withdrew in 1907. Arnett had a longer term of service, remaining at Porto Novo from 1899 until 1907, when he died. No further appointment from France seems to have been made, so that this most promising linking up of our European and our African work has not proved as permanent as was hoped.

During the three years of Bryan Roe's Chairmanship there were many matters of administration that taxed the powers of this most buoyant and hopeful Missionary, but his spirit brought a happy contagion into his Synods, and of the last over which he presided it was said that ' this most trying Synod was by general consent the most inspiring.' One other sentence from the record may be quoted here as offering a picture of the conditions under which the work was done : ' Roe with pinched face and intense bodily weakness stuck to his post.' The next year while on his way to visit one of the stations in the District he died, to the great sorrow of all who knew him. The contrast between Roe and Bartrop could scarcely have been more sharply defined, but each was conspicuous in his love for Africa, and in the efficiency of his service in a land in which only those will be truly effective who count not their lives dear unto them. The pioneer work on which they had both set their hearts was prevented at first by inter-tribal wars in the hinterlands. The Nupé country especially was in a very unsettled state ; all river traffic was at a standstill, and the consequent paralysis of trade was so

severe that Church funds were seriously affected and much anxiety was felt. The centre of the disturbance was Ibadan, the largest of the Yoruba towns, situated about thirty-five miles south of Oyo, the capital of the Yoruba country. There was nothing for them to do but wait, and Bartrop writes from Abeokuta of his intense disappointment. The Ibadan wars had already lasted seven years, and there seemed no prospect of peace. He found plenty to do in Abeokuta, but his heart was set upon other work. In 1886 Roe writes to say :

> The Ibadan war is over, and this means that the country is open to us right to the heart of Africa. I have been invited to several towns by chiefs, but because I had spent all the money the Committee would allow, and all I could spare privately, I have shut my ears to the cry, for I felt sure that if I had gone I should have done some audacious act in the way of establishing our cause. Now I trust you will tell us to enter.

In another letter he breaks into passionate ejaculation : ' Oh, sir, you can hardly understand how we long to enter such open doors ! ' But the Church at home made no response, and neither of these eager spirits fulfilled his heart's desire. Roe was transferred, as we have seen, to Togoland in 1888, and Bartrop was ' invalided home ' in 1889.

The situation as it then resolved itself was one which to-day may well give the Church occasion for thought. The long-continued obstacle which prevented the Church from advancing had been removed. Invitations from towns and tribes in the far interior were frequent. Never was there ' an open door ' so manifest to the waiting Church. On its very threshold —straining at the leash that held them—were two Missionaries peculiarly adapted for such work. They had already passed the trying stage of acclimatization. They were whole-hearted in their devotion to their Master's cause ; shortly after they made ' the supreme sacrifice ' in attestation of that devotion. To restrain a possibly too impetuous spirit, there stood behind them a Chairman who was the embodiment of tact and wisdom in administration. It may be questioned whether either before or since there have ever been offered to the Church such favourable conditions for advance. But just at that moment the flame of missionary enthusiasm was burning low in England. The causes of diminished interest have

been duly analysed in this History and need not be repeated here.[1] Faced with a rapidly declining income, the Missionary Secretaries could not have justified an order to go forward, and so the God-given opportunity was lost. Will it ever be given again? Who can say? But if in the providence of God it be given, then let the Church remember that the responsibility of acceptance or refusal rests with her, and the blame of failure cannot be given to the executive Board, which is but the organ which records and gives effect to the determination of the Church. Still less can it be laid at the door of Missionaries chafing—often heart-broken—under the restraints laid upon them. For all such failures the Church must herself accept the blame.

How carefully the administration of the work abroad was conducted at Bishopsgate is shown in an incident that occurred in 1886. In the temporary absence of two Missionaries there had been a certain amount saved on the District accounts. This was spent by the local Synod in providing plant for Native work. Their action received a severe reprimand from the Committee. The expenditure itself was well advised, but the Synod came under the Committee's censure for acting without the sanction of the central administrative board.

In dwelling upon the missionary ideals of Roe and Bartrop we have anticipated the course of events, and must now return to a more strictly chronological arrangement of facts. The Rev. J. D. Sutcliffe arrived at Lagos in 1887 and served with great efficiency in several Circuits. When Bryan Roe died the vacant chair was filled by the appointment of Sutcliffe, who afterwards added, as Halligey had done, the administration of the Gold Coast to an already onerous task. He was, however, able to remain on the coast until 1908, thus completing a service of twenty years in this District. During this long period of service he had the joy of seeing the Church entrusted to his care greatly extend her borders and acquire a deepening experience of Christian life.

The year 1892 saw the opening of a Mission destined to be not the least fruitful in this prolific field. To the north-east of Lagos lies the country of Ijebu Remo, an independent Native State. Its most southern boundary reaches down to the extensive lagoon on the shores of which the city of Lagos

[1] See Vol. I., chap. vii.

is built, and it extends northwards until it reaches the Yoruba country. Its chief towns are Ikorodu, situated near the lagoon, with a population of 15,000, Shamagu,[1] with the neighbouring town of Iperu, and Ode, farther north. In 1892 a visit was paid by the Rev. J. D. Sutcliffe to the king of this country, who has the title of Akarigbo. Sutcliffe was accompanied by Mr. Haastrop, a Christian merchant who was a native of Shamagu but had resided many years in Lagos. The result of this visit was the promise of a gift of land for the building of Mission premises, and two agents were left to begin the work. Mr. Haastrop was related on his father's side to the royal house of Ijebu Remo, and on his mother's side to the neighbouring house of Ilesha. He became a Christian early in life under the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Rhodes, and he afterwards served the Church as a Class-leader and Local Preacher. He soon acquired great influence in the city of Lagos, where he specially interested himself in the Kroo labourers, who had come from as far up the coast as Sierra Leone. In 1892 the Ijebu Remo country was included in the British Protectorate, and he was most anxious that the Gospel should be brought to his own countrymen, now that order and good government obtained among the unruly tribes of the interior. It was with this object in view that he accompanied Mr. Sutcliffe on a memorable journey. In 1894 he visited England, assuming his proper title of Prince Ademuyiwa, and at the Conference, held that year in Birmingham, and afterwards at Missionary meetings up and down the country, he produced a profound impression upon the congregations who listened to his warm-hearted addresses. On his return the work was further developed, and stations were opened at the capital—Shamagu—and also at Ikorodu, Iperu, and Ago. In 1895 the Church in this district had so increased that there were fears lest the work should outgrow the capacity of the Church. Within three years this new Mission reported seven churches or preaching-places, two Ministers, six lay evangelists, and 52 accredited Church members, with 195 catechumens in the Junior Society Classes. Ten years later the membership had increased to 510, with 100 on trial for membership. There were then ten chapels and 30 other

[1] The spelling of the names of these towns varies with the writer who describes them. Some write 'Ikoradu' and 'Shagamu.'

preaching-places. In the Centenary year the membership was slightly under 700, and there seemed to be every probability of large increases in the immediate future. Few Missions, even in Africa, can record so rapid a growth. To the great sorrow of the Church Prince Ademuyiwa did not live to see this gathered harvest in the country he loved so well. While still in the prime of life he died in 1905, and many were the testimonies borne both within and without the Church to the good work he had accomplished, and the universal respect in which he was held.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the Lagos Mission than the gradual but persistent movement of the Church towards the Sudan, the great territory that stretches across Central Africa from the marches of Abyssinia on the east to the boundaries of our West African Dependencies. A great part of Nigeria lies within the Sudan, and if the scheme of John Milum for the occupation of the Nupé country had been carried into effect, the Methodist Church would by this have been firmly established in that country. It is, in the opinion of reasonable and well-informed persons, the destined scene of the final conflict between Muhammadanism and Christianity, at any rate in so far as Africa is concerned, and the whole region is now open to the advance of the Christian Missionary. It is a field of missionary service in which challenge and call are blended together, until we can scarce tell whether the appeal is to our loyalty or to our philanthropy, whether the Church is the more bound to enter by her relation to her Lord, or by her manifold obligations to humanity. It is doubtful whether the Christian Church has ever visualized this field, or felt the unique urgency of its claim.

> There are times [writes Canon Sell] when it is very difficult to balance the competing claims of various parts of the Mission-field. I see no difficulty now. . . . Certain parts of Africa form now, in military language, the objective, and are the strategical positions of the great Mission-field. Parts of Africa in which the Moslem advance is imminent have for the present a pre-eminent claim. The absorption of pagan races into Islam is so rapid and continuous that in a few years' time some may be quite lost to us.[1]

In the article from which the foregoing quotation is taken Mrs.

[1] Quoted by Mrs. Karl Kumm, *Work and Workers*, Nov., 1903.

Karl Kumm puts in succinct form the prominent features of this claim as follows :

1. These lands are newly conquered and thus open ; Moslem opposition can no longer prevent Missions in them.
2. Delivered from slave raiders, the heathen peoples, now safe and free, ask for and welcome White teachers.
3. The Governments of Great Britain and Germany (which control in the Western Sudan alone areas larger than their home countries, and thirty-five million non-Christian people) both welcome Christian Missions.
4. Finally and chiefly, these lands are temporarily in a state of religious solution. The heathenism of the past cannot endure. Islam is arriving ; has arrived. Shall Islam prevail ?

To these we would add one further point which specially concerns the Methodist Church. History has shown that the constitution and practice of the Methodist Church is peculiarly adapted to the African. Here we would quote again from the Rev. W. H. Findlay, writing after his secretarial visit to this field in 1901 :

In all its distinctions, even in all its peculiarities, Methodism appears to furnish just what is needed to cherish and express the Christian life of these races. . . . The use that Methodism makes of lay agency in such offices as steward, Class-leader, Local Preacher, is exactly after the heart of a people whose instinct is to give themselves to the Lord's work as soon as they give themselves to the Lord. From its old tunes, its love-feasts, and Class-meetings, up to its highest distinctions in doctrine and experience and activity, it is Methodism that seems to be the natural vesture and vehicle of the Christian life of these races ; and we who hold in trust the heritage of Methodism cannot put off upon others the responsibility for communicating it in its fullness where it is so needed and welcomed.[1]

As we have seen, Milum sought to enter northern Nigeria by way of the river. The land route north of Lagos was blocked owing to the state of the country in which inter-tribal wars were incessant. But the river-route proved difficult, and the expense of maintaining a Mission in Nupe was found to be prohibitive, at any rate for the present. Some measure of disappointment in abandoning it was inevitable, but in the light of after events the Divine guidance was clearly seen, and it has become evident that the line of advance for the

[1] *Work and Workers*, 1901, p. 238.

Methodist Church is through the country of the Yorubas. When, with the proclamation of the British Protectorate, the country became quiet and lines of communication were secure, the Church was at once 'on the move.' We have seen it firmly established in the Ijebu Remo country, and we have now to record its next great advance, both in territory and in its method of evangelization.

But a pause may be made here to consider the leading characteristics of the people among whom our main effort in the immediate future must be made. The Yorubas have been called 'the Baganda of West Africa,' and to those who are familiar with the history of the Church universal in Africa the name affords a happy augury. They are considered to be the most progressive of the many tribes in this part of the continent. They rapidly assimilate all that European civilization has to offer, its evil as well as its good. In law, commerce, and industry they have made a marked advance from their condition when Freeman first visited Abeokuta in 1842. A certain amount of instability in character, and of uncertainty in their mental outlook, is the one serious general failure discovered by those who have described them.[1] Their country lies outside the deltaic region, and farther inland it is open and park-like. It covers an area of 28,000 square miles. In all internal affairs administration is carried on by educated Africans under a British Commissioner. The Treasury, Public Works, Police, Post Office, and other departments are efficiently managed by Africans. The same degree of efficiency does not obtain in all the provinces in the interior, but, speaking generally, the whole country is moving towards an indigenous and independent government. It is in this country chiefly that the problem of the educated Native, so insistent in India, confronts the British Administration and the Christian Church. The railway now runs right through the country to Jebba, on the Niger, and beyond. It is evident that, given a wise and far-seeing policy in the Church, all the elements of a strong and indigenous Christianity are to be found among such people.

Now towards the north-east of Ijebu Remo lies the country of Ijesa, containing a population of 300,000, of whom 35,000 are to be found in Ilesha, the capital city

[1] See Morel, *op. cit.*, pp. 76ff.

of the territory. Many of these people found in Lagos a happy refuge from the perils of war and the never-ceasing menace of slavery. They also found by happy experience 'the freedom with which Christ makes His children free.' They learned to read and write, and presently many became men of influence as merchants, or lawyers, or in some form of civic employment. But the call of the homeland was ever in their ears, and as soon as the country became settled many returned to visit their former homes. Some remained, and among these were not a few members of the Church in Lagos. The king of Ilesha had formerly resided at Sierra Leone, and for a shorter time in Lagos. He was professedly a Christian, but, being a polygamist, he was not enrolled as a member of the Church. Here, then, was the nucleus of a Christian Society in a district halfway between Lagos and the abandoned Bida. Year after year the appeal of Ilesha had come to Lagos, but without evoking any adequate response. It was not until 1898 that a local fund was started in Lagos, and the Rev. Oliver J. Griffin, in company with a few Christians of Lagos, visited Ilesha, and had an interview with the king. Arrangements were quickly made. A room in the palace was set apart for the public worship until a chapel could be built; a house was found for the African Minister—the Rev. F. J. Martin—and a school for the children was begun. The Sunday school has always been a prominent and a fruitful element in West African Missions, and one of the first teachers in Ilesha was the Princess Adenibi, one of the king's daughters, who also became a devoted and successful Class-leader. The fetish priests, whose craft was now in danger, naturally created a certain amount of opposition, but the influence of the king minimized their efforts. At his death in 1901 no heathen rites or ceremonies were performed. He was laid to rest while his Christian people prayed and sang their hymns of praise and trust. The new Church was opened in 1902, and in the service of consecration great blessing fell upon the little Church. After five years this consisted of fifty-five members, and the holy flame began to spread to surrounding towns and villages.

Ilesha is likely to become a missionary centre of great importance; for when the Wesley Guild in England felt the impulse of a quickened missionary enthusiasm it was decided that there should be a representative of the Guild in this

District, and in 1912 Dr. J. R. C. Stephens, M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P., was sent to begin Medical Mission work in Ilesha. After some time spent in Igbora, where work of this kind on a limited scale had been already begun, Dr. Stephens arrived at his appointed station, and the gracious effect of his service was immediately apparent; hundreds of suffering people came to be treated during the first year of his Mission. No happier feature of the Church's service could have been chosen for this newly occupied district, for it has been proved in other countries that of all forms of service that are effective among Muhammadans that of the Medical Missionary stands first, and the waves of the advancing tide of Islam already wash the coasts of the people of Ijesa. Stephens' work had been in some measure anticipated by John Bond at Igbora, and this came about in the following way. The Rev. Thomas Champness was, as we have seen, one of the notable Missionaries in this District, where he was certainly one of the most beloved. On his return to England in 1863 he gave himself up to the service of the humbler folk in the Church. He trained and educated men who had not been able to secure educational advantages in their youth, so that they might render more efficient service as Local Preachers. He also issued a weekly religious journal, priced at a halfpenny that it might be available for those who were not likely to see more expensive journals. To this paper he gave the name of *Joyful News*.[1] Mr. Champness, with others, came under the wave of feeling in favour of a simpler and less expensive method of missionary service than that which obtained towards the close of the nineteenth century, and he sought among the young men who had come to him for training those who might illustrate the type and method of service which he had in mind. Several men were thus sent to India and China, and were known as 'Joyful News Evangelists.' Mr. Champness was not likely to forget the field in which he himself had served, and in 1890 his evangelists began to appear in the Lagos District. They were stationed at Ibadan, and later on at Iperu. The experiment was far from being a success. Some of the evangelists did well, but others failed in one way or another, and it was found difficult to keep their stations fully manned. In the space of ten years the effort came to

[1] See vol. I., chap. vii.

an end. But the scheme carried with it the seed of a greater service than Champness saw; for one of these evangelists was Mr. John Bond, who after a spell of service returned to England, and took up a course of training in medicine, after which he returned to the District in 1904 under the auspices of the parent Society to take up medical work. Mr. Bond must, therefore, be considered the pioneer in what it is hoped will remain a permanent feature of work in this District. He commenced work at Igbora.[1] a town in the Yoruba country, and speedily found that in his special service he had an unlimited opportunity for bringing relief to suffering humanity, and for preaching the Gospel of the great Healer of the sin-stricken soul. Thousands of cases were treated every year in the modest[2] dispensary set up in Igbora, and as all patients were expected to attend the service in the chapel, they were thus within hearing of the Gospel. A second dispensary was afterwards opened at Oyo, 200 miles from Lagos. To this station came in 1897 the Rev. Oliver J. Griffin, who afterwards became the Chairman and General Superintendent of this District, the latest in a great succession of Missionaries who have filled that position. When this chapter was written in 1920 Mr. Griffin still remained in the District, having succeeded to the chair when Mr. Sutcliffe retired to England in 1908. While still at Oyo Mr. Griffin was joined by his wife, who had a knowledge of medicine, and who began to prescribe for the women and children around her. Her efforts were most successful, and hundreds of patients found relief under her care. It is impossible to record in figures the results of such work. The relief to suffering alone would make it invaluable, but the effects of such ministrations go far beyond the physical relief. The touch of a refined and gracious personality upon the depraved womanhood of Africa carries with it, far more than any other form of service can do, the impress of Him who healed the sick and did not shrink from the touch of the leper. If we may so far anticipate the course of events we would emphasize the recommendation of the

[1] Igbora lies far from the main road leading from Lagos to the interior. It is rarely visited by Missionaries, never by traders, and by Government officials only once every two or three years.

[2] How modest may be judged from the fact that in 1909 the dispensary was washed away by heavy rain. Happily more stable and commodious buildings were soon erected, including a home for Mr. and Mrs. Bond, this latter being regarded as a pledge that the work would be continuous.

Rev. W. Goudie when he visited this District in 1915. Mr. Goudie advised a considerable development of this branch of work in the District, and it is to be hoped that his advice will be fully accepted by the Missionary Committee.

The secretarial visit of the Rev. W. H. Findlay to the West Coast of Africa has already been noticed in dealing with the history of other Districts on the coast. The chief objective in this visit was the Lagos District, and Mr. Findlay's report, together with the speech he delivered in the May meetings of 1901, is marked by a breadth of statesmanship, a quick perception of details which to some might appear trivial, but which are nevertheless the seeds of great issues in Church life and work, and above all by a most tender sympathy with all Christian labourers in the great vineyard of our Lord. All these traits were characteristic of W. H. Findlay, and they are conspicuous in all that he had to say of Missionary service on this coast. Speaking of the Lagos District, he says :

> The geographical development of the District as regards extent, relation of its various parts, distribution of its stations, appears to me to have been wisely guided. The stations are well chosen, both for present importance and future extension, and the work of the District affords that variety of interest and operation which characterizes a well-planned Mission, without (except in one case) presenting difficulties of travel or diversities of condition too great for advantageous grouping under a common administration. The two great impressions made upon me by my tour were (1) the extraordinary responsiveness of the spiritual soil to even the crudest tillage, and (2) the very primitive character which after so many years our operations still have.

This report has been characterized as ' critical and severe,' but there can be little doubt that Mr. Findlay points out a distinct menace to the continued efficiency of the Methodist Church in this field when he says :

> The remarkable ease with which large numerical results are obtained, and the eager advance of the Churches towards self-support and independence, while they afford legitimate cause of rejoicing, may have one unfortunate effect. They tend to foster an impression that the simplest methods of missionary evangelism suffice for such a country, and that there is no need to construct here that manifold apparatus of institutions and organizations which we have been driven to elaborate in the harder fields of India and China. The course of time, however, is exposing this error. . . . Boarding schools, training institutions, even strong and efficient day schools—literary and

industrial—dispensaries, vernacular literature, are almost entirely wanting; and the Native Church is beginning to betray, and the evangelistic work of the Mission to feel, the inevitable results of the crudity of our operations. In one department the imperfection of our apparatus demands an immediate remedy. The District has a strong enough staff of Native Ministers, but of efficient catechists and teachers there is such a dearth as seriously to lower the quality and curtail the extent of our work. . . . What is needed, according to the unanimous advice of other Societies, is an institution in the interior, with a Missionary devoted to it, in which earnest young men may receive, along with the elements of general education, sound instruction in Scripture and Christian doctrine, and practical training in evangelistic work and in teaching.

Much more might be quoted from this report, but a single passage must now suffice:

Amongst, around, and beyond these Churches is the fascinating evangelistic enterprise of the District in an Ethiopia that is already stretching out her hands to God, among peoples with only the crumbling fragments of a religion of their own, and ready to welcome Christianity or Muhammadanism, whichever will first present itself among them a strong living religion; an enterprise in which, if we can only man it somewhat more strongly, can secure to its pioneers a longer lease of service, and provide them with the equipment they need, we may march step by step with the great Church Missionary Society to establish a new African Christendom.

This statesmanlike report bore immediate fruit, and found it in Ibadan.

'Ibadan is a tremendous town.' Such was the ejaculation of Mr. Matthews when he visited it in 1890. It lies in the heart of the Yoruba country, north of Abeokuta and about 120 miles from the coast. It contains nearly a quarter of a million of inhabitants.[1] Matthews describes the impression made upon him by this great city: 'Houses with their grass roofs stretching away in the distance in some directions as far as the eye can reach, and closely packed together.' Here the Church Missionary Society had three stations, all on the outskirts of the city, and there was not a single Christian church in the crowded centre. 'If fifty men were sent to this town alone each would have 5,000 persons to evangelize.' Of Halligey's visit to this town we have already written.

[1] In recent years cotton plantations have been laid out in the neighbourhood of Ibadan, and the population is likely to increase with the industry,

A few Christian families formed the nucleus of a Church, and two of the 'Joyful News Evangelists' were at one time stationed here.[1] In 1903 it was resolved to act upon the recommendation of Mr. Findlay when he visited the District in 1900, and to open an institution for the training of catechists and school teachers. All were to receive such an education as would fit them for employment in the elementary schools springing up all over the country, and it was hoped that some of these would become evangelists to their own countrymen. An admirable principal of the institution was found in the Rev. F. W. Welbon, and through his patience and zeal the buildings were completed in 1905, and a start was made with four students. These and their successors were taught not only the doctrines of the Christian faith, but also such not unimportant matters as personal cleanliness and habits of industry and good order. The Twentieth Century Fund enabled the Society to found the institution and also to build a suitable home for the principal. Up to this time Ibadan had been superintended from Oyo, but it was now made the head of a new Circuit. Welbon returned to England in 1907, but an excellent successor was found in the Rev. H. Webster, who was still rendering this most necessary service when the Centenary year arrived. In 1913 there were twenty students in residence—as many as the buildings would accommodate—and the curriculum had been so enlarged as to include Euclid and drawing, Greek and theology. It will thus be seen that considerable advance has been made in the education of this indispensable agency. No better centre for such work could have been chosen than Ibadan. It is removed from influences which would have threatened it in such a town as Lagos, and it affords excellent and abundant opportunities for practical training in teaching and in open-air evangelistic work. The further development of this institution will be anxiously awaited. In such a field as Southern Nigeria there should be not twenty students in preparation for service but two hundred.

The history of other educational work in this District is much the same as that which we have traced in the neighbouring District of the Gold Coast. There has been from the first a clear perception of the urgent need of such work, and

[1] One of them subsequently joined the Baptists, and gave some trouble to the Chairman in the method of his leaving our Church.

elementary schools have been begun in most places occupied by Mission agents. When it is considered how imperfectly trained the first teachers were it is an amazing thing that such good results have followed, and speaks volumes for the receptivity of the African mind. In 1879, when the District was first separated from the Gold Coast District, the Rev. W. Terry Coppin was appointed to the Lagos High School, the building of which was completed in 1878. The school was opened with thirty-five students on the rolls, and the highest hopes were entertained as to its future. It was found impossible, however, to spare a European Missionary for this work, and in 1890 the Rev. W. B. Euba, an African Minister, was in charge. Later on the work was undertaken by another African Minister, the Rev. J. H. Samuel, but Mr. Euba shortly returned to his former charge, and continued to serve in the school until 1913, when difficulties arose, and he subsequently left the ministry. He was ably assisted by the Rev. E. W. Williams, another African Minister. How successfully these men have worked may be inferred from the fact that representatives of this school were to be found in the Bar, the medical profession, and in architecture, engineering, and other professions. In 1912 the school was entirely self-supporting, and the premises were so crowded that some classes were conducted in the open air. The education of girls was marked by the same uncertainty in the early days. In 1879 Miss Smith, the sister of Mrs. Milum, came to Lagos under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary, to take up charge of a high school for girls. But within a very few weeks Mrs. Milum had died, and her sister's health was so impaired that she was obliged to return to England. The school might well be called 'the daughter of sorrow.' An African lady was found to take up the duties of principal, and the school opened with twenty-three pupils in attendance. In 1887 the local Government adopted the regulation that educational grants would be determined by the number of passes secured by students in the several grades, and it was also required that teachers should be certificated before any grant could be received. This regulation seriously affected the girls' school, in which the pupils were as yet scarcely advanced beyond the elementary stage. The school buildings too left much to be desired. They were situated in a very unhealthy quarter

of the town, and well-to-do parents refused to send their daughters to the school unless better premises could be secured. It is therefore no surprise to find that in 1890 the school was closed. In 1896 the foundation stones of better buildings were laid, but it was not until 1912, when the Wesley Deaconesses[1] took charge of the school, that there was any prospect of efficiency in this department. But with the coming of Sisters Gertrude Coleman and Jessie Holloway the whole outlook changed as if by magic. The numbers of pupils increased rapidly, and buildings which at first were described as 'commodious' had to be considerably enlarged. There is need and scope for a great extension of this work, especially in the country recently opened to missionary enterprise at such a station as Ilesha, where, as we have seen, medical work is now established, and where educated girls might find the happiest and most fruitful field of service as nurses in the Mission hospital.

We cannot close this survey of educational work in the Lagos District without reference to the extraordinary value of the Sunday school in the African field. In all countries the worth of this department of Church activity is acknowledged, but it may be questioned whether it is anywhere of such value as it is in West Africa. In 1911 the Rev. W. T. Balmer visited the Sunday schools along the whole coast, and his report is discriminating and encouraging. Mr. Balmer says:[2]

> It would not be too much to say that our Sunday schools present features which are a glory and pride to the Circuits, and they are all under Native management, which is what we rejoice in. We have in nearly every Circuit day schools under masters of certificated qualifications, and duly inspected by Government officials. But, excellent though some of these are, it has been my lot to visit Sunday schools in which method, discipline, energy, and smoothness of working, and that undefinable essential of a good school called 'tone,' were all present, and in such a degree as would give points to many a day school. And this is true all the way down from the Gambia to the Niger.

Describing a visit to such a school in Freetown, Mr. Balmer says:

> The superintendent was a Native merchant, a retired schoolmaster of the Mission. A teacher in charge of a junior class offered the opening prayer. He was on week-days the head master of a large school at

[1] See chap. i. of this vol., p. 38. [2] *The Foreign Field*, 1911, p. 252.

the other end of the town. The secretary, the son of one of the Native Ministers, astonished me by the neat, effective methods he had planned for swift, quiet registration of present scholars, and prompt visitation of absentees. Neatly printed plans of lessons, devotional meetings, and prayer-leaders showed that his work was carried out in the spirit of a loving enthusiast. . . . The same vigour and life characterize the Sunday schools farther south. The Ga community, a little nation whose chief town is Accra, on the Gold Coast, seems to have a special genius for this kind of work, which they cultivate assiduously. Their Sunday schools are so well known as centres of teaching that European traders sometimes have attended as scholars for the purpose of acquiring from the Native teachers help in the local tongue. . . . In the coming struggle which is facing the West African Churches this work at the base of operations on the coast should be an invaluable asset.

It is clear that the Sunday-school work on the West Coast of Africa leaves little to be desired.

Looking back over the whole period under review we notice the rapid and almost startling advance of the Church in this District. The good seed of the word of God germinates quickly in the African heart. The harvest has been abundant, and that which has been gathered is a mere 'first-fruit' of what is to come. In the last report of the century which closed in 1913 we read that urgent appeals to begin work in new centres come with almost bewildering frequency. 'The time is ripe for a far greater and more comprehensive advance.' It is not in British territory alone that this increase is recorded. The same story comes from Dahomey, where the administration is French, and from Togoland, where it *was* German. When the Church in Porto Novo—the administrative capital of Dahomey—celebrated its Jubilee in 1912 congregations of more than 1,500 assembled for praise and worship. Where fifty years before there had been not a single Christian this Methodist Circuit returned 737 members, with 1,616 baptized adherents. Anecho—a town in Togoland—shows the same promise of a large ingathering, and we close our review of this most fruitful field convinced of the call of God to the Methodist Church to garner in His name the wonderful harvests it offers.

The historian of such a Church may be forgiven if he for the moment departs from a mere chronicling of past events to dwell upon the impending future. It is true that 'all our past proclaims our future,' and that historians, no less than poets, are 'the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present,' It is thus impossible to consider

this record as that of a chapter that is closed. It is no completed campaign with which we have dealt, but a struggle which in a very real sense is still in only its initial stage. That struggle is fraught with immeasurable possibilities for the future of the many races of Africa. There are two reflections, then, which may be made in closing this record of the Methodist Church in West Africa. The first is that the Church at home will be well advised if it seeks to reinforce its agents in this field. Infant Churches need incessant supervision, guidance, and discipline. History has shown us that large accessions from heathendom may import moral and intellectual poisons, to the incalculable injury of the Church. But further, all who have any knowledge of the trend of thought and life in Africa are at one in speaking of the menace of Islam in that continent. Every Muhammadan trader is a missionary of his religion, and the paganism of the African yields at once to the presentation of the Moslem faith and practice. Much time and opportunity have already been lost. It will be a tragedy in the history of the world's religion if the Church delays a moment longer.

The second reflection to be made as arising out of the history of our work in West Africa is that there is urgent need for a large and comprehensive extension of educational work throughout the whole area. That the African Church should have produced, as a result of the very limited facilities afforded in education, the Native ministry which it possesses speaks volumes for the intellect of the Yoruba, the Fanti, and other tribes. We have gladly recorded the increased attention given of late to this department. But one high school for boys and another for girls is far from meeting the needs of a country so extensive and of a population so great. Other similar institutions should be established in well-chosen centres, with adequate staffs and modern equipment. The effect of such work would be found, not merely in the higher standard reached by candidates for the ministry, but also in an educated laity capable of sharing in the administration of the Church, and bringing into the general life of that Church the wider vision and the many gracious enthusiasms which may be derived from the Christian school and college. The days of independent life for the Church in West Africa are not far distant. It is wise statesmanship which widens and strengthens that life to-day.

# PART III

## South Africa, The Transvaal, and Rhodesia




NORTH EAST
RHODESIA
NORTH WEST
RHODESIA
CHIPEMBI
ZAMBEZI RIVER
MASHONALAND
SALISBURY
NENGUBO
CAPE TOWN
ALGOA BAY
PORT ELIZABETH

# *SOUTH AFRICA*

## I

## THE TREK OF THE CHURCH

The Church on Wheels—The Romance of History—Methodist Soldiers—The first Missionary—The second—Government and Missions—The Call—Khamiesberg—Great Namaqualand—The first Martyrs—The second Column of Advance—Albany Colonists—William Shaw—The 'Chain of Stations'—The Kafir Mission—The first Link—Other links of the Chain—Cape Town—First Mission to the Barolongs—Uncertain Policies—Thaba Nchu.

THE story of the Methodist Church in South Africa is the story of a great 'Trek.' From the time when Barnabas Shaw set out for the Khamiesberg and William Shaw began to dream of his 'Chain of Stations' until now, the Church has always been 'feeling after' those who dwell in the heart of that alluring mystery—the mystery of Africa. Every station opened has at once been made the basis of a further advance. The Church has been from the first 'on wheels.' The ox-wagon was its earliest vehicle. It was often the only home of the Missionary for months. By day it was his pulpit, and by night the shelter of his wife and children. It was the seed-vessel of a life of which the Kafir had never dreamed. It was the Argo which came to seek that priceless treasure, the heart of Africa, for Christ. To-day the Missionary travels by train, at a minimum expenditure of nervous energy, but his face is still towards the north, and his purpose is one with that of his more laborious forerunner. This movement of the Church, so instinct with the passion of a great devotion, so charged with romance, is bound up with that of the British people. As we have seen in the West Indies, as we shall see in India, the first call came through some devout soldier or colonist, steadfastly bearing his witness for Christ, and gathering around him a little company of like-minded persons, to whom the fellowship of the Christian Church was precious. When

the Church at home responded to the cry of her children, the Missionary was sent to build them up in their most holy faith. Then came the second call, the call of the sheep that never knew the fold, and in obeying that the Church found herself committed to her ever-increasing enterprise. This double obligation is the characteristic of the Methodist Church, and her acceptance of it has led to her great development.

The story of South Africa, and of its relation to the British Commonwealth, is not the least striking chapter in the romance of history. It takes us back to the days when Portugal and Holland made their great bid for empire. In those days the lure was found, not in Africa, but in the East Indies. The resources of the Moors were found to lie in their trade with the fabled countries of the East. 'The wealth of Ormuz or of Ind' was often a mere matter of fable, but it was sufficient to account for the splendour of their Courts; and the turning of Europe towards the East, while due in great part to mere cupidity, was really a sequel to the Crusades. It was an attempt to cut the lines of communication between the Moors and the sources from which they derived their wealth Portugal was the first to move, and in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz was sent by Prince Henry of Portugal to intercept by way of the south Atlantic the traffic between the Moors, who threatened his own country, and the East Indies. When Diaz rounded the extreme south of Africa his crew refused to face the rough waters they found there, and he returned to Portugal, having given the name of the Cape of Storms to the southern promontory. But when he gave an account of his adventure to Prince Henry, that monarch changed the name to that of 'The Cape of Good Hope,' for he saw that it was the turning-point of his effort, and that he might now hope to break the power of the Moors. Diaz was followed by Vasco da Gama, who carried the flag of Portugal as far as India, where he found much treasure in the city of Calicut. A hundred years later Portugal had become a mere province of Spain, and as such found itself at war with the Dutch at a time when the latter were approaching the zenith of their power on the high seas. Their ships were much in evidence on the Indian Ocean, and they sailed still farther east, until they reached the Malay Archipelago and finally arrived at China. Now for all these the Cape of Good Hope had no

attraction. They found the surrounding country inhospitable. Their hearts were set upon reaching the wealthier countries farther east. The Cape of Good Hope was to them a mere tavern, where they might conveniently stop on their way to and from India. It was a place where they might revictual their ships ; they had no thought of its ever becoming a key-stone in the arch of empire. We may not linger over the history of the conflict between these two nations. England came into it during the wars she waged with Spain, and later on she used Cape Town, just as the Portuguese and Dutch had done, as a port of call for her ships on their way to India. An effort was made to establish a more permanent naval base at the Cape in the early years of the seventeenth century, but this was soon after given up, and the Dutch took possession of it in 1652. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the British sent an expedition to take possession of the Cape, Holland then being involved with France in the wars between that country and England. Eight years afterwards, at the Peace of Amiens, the station was given back to the Dutch ; but, on the resumption of the war with France, it was again captured by the British in 1806.

Among the soldiers who formed the British army of occupation was a Yorkshireman, Sergeant Kendrick, who had been converted in Leeds during the ministry of the Rev. George Morley. He was made a Class-leader and a Local Preacher, and while at Cape Town he sought to provide for his fellow soldiers such religious help as lay in his power to give. More than a hundred began to meet together for spiritual fellowship ; and, that they might be unmolested in their devotions, their meetings were held in the open air at the foot of Table Mountain. That great pile has looked down upon many groups of men gathered together for counsels of war or of peace, but it never saw a gathering so apparently insignificant yet so fraught with moral and spiritual issues for the many tribes that looked up to its cloud-capped summit. Kendrick presently saw that the work among the soldiers demanded better guidance than he could give, and that the uncertainty of his own stay in the country made it all the more necessary that some more permanent spiritual oversight should be afforded. In the *Methodist Magazine* of 1813 there is to be seen a letter which he wrote to a friend in England with the

request that it might be brought to the notice of Dr. Coke. The letter runs thus :

> Dear Sir,—In the name of the Methodist Society at the Cape of Good Hope I request that my letter may be laid before Dr. Coke . . . that a Preacher may be sent to be stationed at the Cape, if he conceives that it is practicable, and that it will tend to the glory of God. You know, sir, that our stay at the Cape may be short, and that therefore there is the more need for a prop for those who may be left behind. We are very weak and illiterate, and stand in need of every advice which we may receive from you, our brethren. I hope that the Society will take fresh courage from knowing that there are those in their Native country whose study it is to promote holiness in the hearts and lives of their fellow creatures in a remote land, who are not privileged as our brethren at home.
>
> The whole Society express their warmest thanks to you, hoping that we shall all, by continuing to the end, meet together in heaven.
>
> I am, sir, yours &c.,
>
> J. Kendrick.

This is one of the historic documents of the Missionary Society, and it is fitting that it should appear in this record. It reveals at once the character of the writer and the dominant notes of the Methodist Church. The modest and devoted writer of this letter died before he could receive a reply, but that reply fulfilled his heart's desire. It is to be found in the *Minutes* of the Conference of 1813, where we read :

> The Conference authorizes and appoints Dr. Coke to undertake a Mission to Ceylon and Java, and allows him to take six Missionaries for that purpose, exclusive of one for the Cape of Good Hope.

The Missionary designated for the Cape was the Rev. J McKenny, who was instructed to minister to soldiers and other white inhabitants who might be willing to attend his ministry and to pay special attention to the slaves, of whom there were at the time when slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire (1834), no less than 39,000 at Cape Town. But unfortunately among the Dutch ordinances taken over by the British was one which forbade the holding of religious services without the consent of the Governor, at that time Lord Charles Somerset, and he refused to give his consent on the ground that the soldiers already had their chaplain, and the Dutch were unlikely to approve of a ministry to slaves. The Dutch Reformed Church was at that time established in the Colony, and it was not too friendly to ' the people called Methodists.'

The reception given to McKenny was disappointing, and the situation at the time of his arrival called for one of stronger determination than he was. After a few months at the Cape he left for Ceylon. Happily his successor was one who could break through restrictions that were merely formal, and often unjust in their application. The Rev. Barnabas Shaw, with his wife, landed at Cape Town on April 14, 1816, and with his arrival the Methodist Mission to South Africa began its course.

Cape Town at this time was the meeting-place of East and West, and its population was drawn from all quarters of the globe. The variety of races represented there was extraordinary. The Dutch had brought there Malays from their far-eastern possessions, and these were mostly Muhammadans. India, Madagascar, and Arabia were all represented by those who had been drawn thither owing to the trade carried on between Holland and the East. They had also imported slaves from the Guinea Coast, and Mozambiques from the east coast. They themselves were, of course, in great evidence, and with them were men of French extraction and German. Hottentots and Kafirs were there in a serfdom that was scarcely distinguishable from slavery, and British officials and soldiery were the latest elements in this motley crowd when Barnabas Shaw appeared upon the scene.

The attitude of the local Government towards missionary enterprise was conditioned by two ideas prevalent a hundred years ago, and now proved to be erroneous. One was that religion as inculcated by the Methodists was entirely and perhaps morbidly emotional, and that in consequence it tended to demoralize the soldier as such. Time has shown that both ideas were false. Many a soldier who has been loyal to the teaching that enabled him to find his true self has been the better soldier because of the faith that was in him. In bygone days, too, army chaplains were appointed almost exclusively from the clergy of the Established Church, and it was thought undesirable to recognize in any way the ministry of Churches other than those which stood in organic relation to the State. Yet another consideration was due to the extreme caution shown in early days by British Administrators of the overseas possessions of Great Britain. These often carried the principle of non-interference with indigenous religions to an extreme, through fear of rousing religious

animosity among those whom they were called to govern. The Dutch settlers in South Africa were slow in abandoning the position that white men might exploit the Blacks, and hold them in servitude. This strongly-held opinion was, as we shall see, one of the primal causes which led to estrangement between British and Dutch in South Africa. Under its influence thousands of Dutch families abandoned their farms, which were in British territory, and trekked to the still unoccupied regions in the north, where they would be free to maintain their own relations to the coloured people in their service, without being hampered by the restricting philanthropy of British administration. The Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church probably shared in these opinions.[1] At any rate the Governor, in refusing McKenny permission to preach, gave as one of his reasons that they would be offended if he preached to the slaves. In 1737 they had objected to the baptism of Hottentots by Missionaries, and had compelled the Moravian Minister, George Schmidt, to leave the country. Barnabas Shaw, however, was not a man to be deterred by refusals made on such grounds, and in a letter written at that time he says :

> Having been refused the sanction of the Government to preach on the following Sunday, I commenced without it. If His Excellency was afraid of giving offence to the Dutch Ministers and the English Chaplains, I had no occasion to fear either the one or the other.

The Governor seems to have recognized in Mr. Shaw a man to be respected, and later on, when the latter proposed to leave Cape Town for Namaqualand, he offered to appoint him as Minister in a Dutch Church if he would remain. For some time Shaw preached in the forest, the little chapel built by Wesleyan soldiers at Wynberg having been burned down, and another ' pulpit ' was found in a room of a private house in Simonstown. But presently the guiding hand of God led the Missionary to the fulfilment of his heart's desire to preach the Gospel to the heathen.

In 1816 there came to Cape Town from Great Namaqualand, north of the Orange River, the Rev. W. Schmelen, at that time working for the London Missionary Society in that country,

[1] ' The hindrances to missionary exertions which have been experienced at the Cape result, we believe, not from the disposition of the local Government, but from the Dutch Clergy. It would be an excuse for them if they themselves took any measures to instruct the pagan slaves among whom they live.'—*Missionary Report*, 1818, p. 31.

and he proposed that Shaw should join him. The latter was eager to comply, but the thought of the privations which in that case his wife would suffer made him hesitate. But there was no hesitation in her when the matter was put before her. Turning to Mr. Schmelen she said: 'We will go with you; the Lord is opening our way to the heathen.' It was a memorable saying, revealing the essential elements of the missionary spirit—the simplicity of faith, and an instant readiness for sacrifice.

On the way to Namaqualand there came a further indication of Divine guidance. The little company of 'trekkers' had crossed the Olifants River, having travelled a whole month before they reached it, and were passing through the Karoo Desert when they met a party of Natives travelling south. These were from Little Namaqualand, and were actually on their way to the coast to seek a Christian teacher, some vague rumours of Christianity having reached them. We may easily imagine the effect of such a meeting upon the eager Missionary and his devoted wife. It was at once decided that Mr. Schmelen should go on alone, while the Shaws went with these people whom they had so unexpectedly met on the dreary wastes of the Karoo.

At that time there were two other Societies at work in South Africa. The Moravians—who will always remain the great pioneers of the Missionary Church—had begun work as early as 1737 in the Caledon district, on the eastern side of the Brede River. But their first Missionary, George Schmidt, had been compelled to leave the country for reasons which we have already indicated, and it was only after fifty years that they returned to their former station at Genadendal—'The Vale of Grace.'

The London Missionary Society was next in this field, and its agents have always been prominent and influential in South Africa. Their first stations were established in 1799 among the Gaikas of Kafirland and among the Griquas near the Orange River. Later on Missions were undertaken in Great Namaqualand and in Bechuanaland, north of the Orange River. Some of the greatest names to be found in the long list of missionary heroes appear in the annals of this Society, and we need only refer to two. Livingstone and Moffat have become the spiritual heritage of all the Churches.

After great hardships incurred in travelling Barnabas Shaw came at last to the Khamiesberg, a hilly country to the north-west of Cape Town, and the name 'Lilyfontein' was given to the place chosen for the first Mission station of the Methodist Church. Here, until he was able to build a house, cutting and carting the timber and sawing it into planks with his own hands, he and his wife lived in a Native hut. Furniture was a superfluity. Their only chairs were boxes, and at night they slept on the floor. Well might the Missionary Committee declare that

> only those who are sustained by a quenchless zeal for the glory of their Divine Saviour, and the most tender and compassionate love for the souls of the perishing heathen, could endure the privations and undergo the fatigues of a work which, in the remoter part of the field, must be prosecuted amidst arid deserts, far away from all that is cheering and consoling in civilized society.[1]

Food was obtained with difficulty, and one of Shaw's first operations was to reclaim a portion of the scrub for the purpose of a garden, where he might grow vegetables for his own use. Yet during those laborious years he taught the people about him the great truths of the Christian religion. It is difficult to refrain from quoting *in extenso* from the admirable letters and journals sent to the Mission House in London by him. The clear, terse sentences lend themselves admirably to quotation. It is evident that the Secretaries felt the charm of these letters. It is the explanation of the urgency which appears in the following instructions sent to Shaw at this time :

> We particularly request that you will write freely and largely to the Committee. Give us a full account of your proceedings—where you have fixed your quarters ; how far you have extended your labours ; the state of the people among whom you labour ; the prospect you have of good being done ; with all the interesting particulars you can send. If you write to any friend among the Preachers let not that prevent you sending full information to the Committee. Please also inform us of the difficulties you meet with at the Cape, and the causes of your not being able to labour there. Write at large and frequently.

When those letters appeared in the first volume of the *Missionary Notices* they furnished just the element of romance which was wanting at that time to stir the imagination of the Methodist people, and to fill them with zeal for the conversion

[1] Report, 1848, p. 63.

of the millions of Africa. The letters describe such prosaic matters as the making of soap or the purchase of timber, yet there is always the feeling of a poet in the expression. Most of all, they reveal a man given up to the service of Christ, and finding the fulfilment of his own life in bringing to his Master the sheep that had no shepherd. A Bushman (one of the lowest aboriginal tribes) was to him one for whom he was prepared to endure every imaginable hardship, if only he might bring him to Christ. Before the house was finished his second child was born, only to be buried a day or two after.

The Church in South Africa is built upon a foundation of that lowliest service which exalts the servant to the highest, and the holy fire which burned in the heart of its founder has continued to inflame that Church through the whole period of its existence The Church could never afford to suffer it to go out.

The effect of such service was speedily apparent. It had an effect upon the physical aspect of the surrounding country. Gardens and cultivated fields appeared where before there had been only the unchecked scrub of the open veldt. The habits of the Namaquas were changed from those of nomads, finding a bare subsistence in the rough and scanty products of the locality in which they might happen to be, to those of a settled community with flocks and herds so abundant that the attention of the Government was drawn to the Mission, and a large tract of land was made over to the settlement under the control of a board, elected by the people themselves, under the direction of the Missionary. The desert had rejoiced and blossomed as the rose, and the people saw the glory of the Lord. The Gospel message appealed to their simple mind and won their hearts. A little church was built, and many found it to be the birthplace of a new life in their souls.

The Missionary Committee was quick to support a work of such abundant promise. In the following year the Rev. E. Edwards was sent to join Mr. Shaw, and he was followed the year after by the Rev. and Mrs. Archbell and in 1820 by the Rev. S. Kay. On the strength of such a reinforcement a new station was opened among the Bushmen at a place called 'Reitfontein.' As early as 1817 it had been found possible to commission Native-born Namaquas to preach to their own countrymen, and Jacob Links was received as an assistant

to Mr. Shaw. Others were enrolled as school teachers, class-leaders, and Local Preachers, the Methodist organization lending itself—as on other fields—to the rapid development of Church life. Jacob Links and his two brothers Robert and Peter were remarkable men, full of resource, and devoted evangelists. Of these three Jacob was destined to be, as we shall presently see, the first Christian martyr of the Namaquas.

Lilyfontein has been occupied by Wesleyan Missionaries ever since the days of Barnabas Shaw, and the influence of Christian teaching on the people in the neighbourhood has been very great, but as a station it has been unfortunate. It is situated in a region where the annual rainfall is uncertain, and drought is frequent. When the grazing for their cattle becomes scanty, and the pools dry up, the nomadic habits of the people reassert themselves, and whole communities remove with their cattle to the more abundant pasturage in valleys lower down. When they return, sometimes after months of wandering, Christian instruction has to begin over again ; and not infrequently it was found that they had lost the moral sense which, before their departure, had begun to affect their conduct. Later on the opening of copper mines at Ookiep and Springbok led to the setting up of liquor stores just outside the Methodist settlement, to the great demoralization of those whose Christianity was too newly formed within them to enable them to resist the temptation of drink. The true line of advance to the north lay farther to the east, but some years were to pass and many privations endured before that fact became apparent.

On the arrival of Edwards in 1817 Shaw decided to explore the country lying to the north of Lilyfontein, and was attracted by reports and invitations coming from Great Namaqualand, north of the Orange River. After a journey of extraordinary difficulty and peril it was decided to begin work at Warm Bath, afterwards known as Nisbett Bath, and Archbell and Jacob Links were appointed to that place, the chief centre of the Bondleswarts, who were the most powerful of the Namaquas. Work was found, however, to be impossible owing to tribal wars. In 1825 Jacob Links and Johannes Jager, two Namaquas, determined to make another attempt to reach the Bushmen, and the Rev. W. Threlfall was associated with them. Threlfall had been with William Shaw in the

eastern districts, and had made an attempt to begin work at Delagoa Bay. There he nearly died from fever, the result of debilitating conditions of life in what was at the time one of the most unhealthy regions of South Africa. Barely escaping with his life, he had been sent to recuperate at Lilyfontein. The three men set out upon their Mission, but were never seen again. Three months afterwards it was discovered that they had been murdered by Bushmen, enticed by the cattle and provisions they had with them. The Mission to the Bondleswarts was given up until eight years afterwards, when a more successful attempt was made by the Rev. E. Cook and Peter Links. These built a chapel to seat 500 persons, and a Church of 500 members was gathered out of the surrounding villages. Another station farther north was founded at Blydeverwachting, or Hoole's Fountain, as it was afterwards called, and it seemed as if Methodism had taken root in Namaqualand. Still farther north the Missionaries trekked, until they arrived at such settlements as Concordia and Wesley Vale. The former is now known as Windhuk, and the latter is situated on the line of the Tropic of Capricorn. But the distance between one station and another made communications difficult, and travelling was both expensive and arduous. The Missionary Society at home found its funds insufficient for the maintenance of work under such conditions. Accordingly in 1851 Concordia and Wesley Vale were handed over to the spiritual care of the Rhenish Missionary Society, and sixteen years after that Society undertook a similar charge at Nisbett Bath and Hoole's Fountain. All these places lie within the area in which Germany afterwards established a Protectorate, and the Missions were well conducted by the German Society to which they were entrusted. Meantime another movement northwards had been started, and this seemed to afford facilities for a continual advance which were lacking in the courageous attempt made by Barnabas Shaw.

. . . . . .

We must now turn our attention to the column of advance to the east of Cape Town. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Dutch farmers began to spread eastwards towards the valleys of the Fish River and the Kei. The land was fertile, timber was abundant, and great herds of wild animals allured the hunters of game. Here the Dutch found

themselves in the midst of the great Kafir tribe, a very different race from that of the Hottentots or that of the Bushmen, whom they had so easily reduced to subjection. War followed the incursions of the Dutch, and continued for fifty years. The fighting took place for the most part in a district known as the Zuurveld, and in 1811 the British Government assigned it to the frontier Boers, the Fish River having been acknowledged by the chiefs of the Amaxosa tribes to be the natural frontier of the Dutch Colony as it existed in 1780. The British force which proceeded to clear the country in 1811 was commanded by Colonel John Graham, and one of the military posts established by him was named 'Grahamstown' in his honour. But the Dutch farmers were slow in entering the country assigned them, from fear of the Kafirs, and the Zuurveld remained desolate and uncultivated. Now at the close of the Napoleonic wars there was great distress in England. The sudden disbanding of the army produced an inevitable amount of unemployment, and trade which had been dislocated in wartime was long in recovering. Lord Charles Somerset at the Cape and Lord Sidmouth in England, together with Mr. Vansittart, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, urged that Colonists should be sent to reclaim the Zuurveld. Fifty thousand pounds were voted by Parliament for the purpose, and the attractions of the proposed Colony were painted in glowing colours. It is indicative of the state of affairs at that time in England that no less than 180,000 persons offered to leave this country for South Africa. Five thousand of them were selected, and the new Colonists arrived at Algoa Bay in April, 1820. They were met on their arrival by Sir Rufane Donkin, who was then acting for Lord Charles Somerset during the absence of the latter in England. Sir Rufane had been invalided to the Cape from India, where his wife had died, and when invited to name the new settlement at Algoa Bay he gave her name to it. Port Elizabeth is the memorial of a very strong and loyal love. This town, with Grahamstown, will often appear in our record, for it was from them that the second great 'trek' of the Methodist Church started towards the north.

The British Government had decided that a certain number of Ministers of religion should accompany the Colonists, a grant in aid towards the support of each having been made, and

the Wesleyan Minister chosen for this appointment was William Shaw. This was a memorable and altogether admirable appointment. William Shaw was a man of clear judgement, strong purpose, and kindliest heart, qualities clearly indicated in his physiognomy. His biographer, the Rev. W. B. Boyce, another Missionary of great distinction, says:

> After an intimacy of forty-four years I can unhesitatingly state that I never heard him speak a hasty, unadvised word, or give expression to any feeling contrary to the royal law of love.

Clearly Shaw was the very man to be the guide and friend of these people in the many difficult situations with which they were to be confronted in South Africa. In later years he came to be recognized as a strong administrator, a devoted Pastor, and a most trustworthy friend. It was difficult to say whether his great qualities were the more appreciated by Colonist or by Native.

The people selected for this great experiment in colonization were of all classes. They were farmers, yeomen, gentlemen of good family, soldiers from the battle-fields of Europe, mill-hands from the city, and labourers from the fields. These were all landed on the beach in Algoa Bay, and before them stretched, almost without limit, the vast land they were to reclaim. Tents had been pitched for their reception by the Government; wagons had been hired from the Boers, and presently the crowd of eager adventurers were scattered over the Zuurveld, each company in its appointed location. Shaw was attached to the company destined for the beautiful valley of the Assagai River; and, after a journey of a hundred miles by ox-wagon, they arrived at their destination, near the spot where the town of Salem now stands. We may perhaps imagine the feelings of Mr. and Mrs. Shaw when the wagon which had brought them to their destination departed, leaving them sitting on their boxes on the open veldt with the sky above them for the only roof in sight. Their first duty was to erect some sort of shelter, and when this had been done the Missionary took up his appointed duty. It was enough to deter all but those of the stoutest heart. He had to visit and hold services for groups of people scattered over an area of 1,500 square miles. Roads there were none. Rivers might be forded with good luck, otherwise there was nothing

for it but to swim. When he arrived at his destination the only bed available was the ground. But such conditions of service were cheerfully accepted, and the Sunday services to the little groups of homesick men and women brought comfort to many hearts. Presently the Methodist system came into operation. Devout and earnest men were enlisted as Local Preachers, and with the help of these the Missionary was able to meet the spiritual needs of his forlorn and scattered flock in the Zuurveld, henceforth known as the Albany Colony.

They were often in desperate straits. Their hardly raised crops were destroyed by wild animals or by disease. Drought or floods were equally destructive. Then from among their number artisans, who might have been of great assistance to their neighbours, found that there were far brighter prospects for themselves in towns such as Grahamstown, and so they departed, leaving the farmers still more helpless. Many came to grief, and in some cases Government was obliged to intervene with assistance. But the tenacity of those who remained received at last a full reward, not only in material goods, but in the fibre and tone they developed during those years of indescribable difficulty. Presently prosperity began to appear in sight ; with improved conditions more substantial buildings for public worship were erected, and Salem became the centre of a very considerable Circuit. Grahamstown—the most considerable town in the neighbourhood—was a military centre, but was destitute of any sort of ministerial help. It quickly sank into a condition of immorality and godless living, save for the presence of a few Methodist soldiers, whose conversion, under God, had been due to the labour and ministry of Sergeant Kendrick at Cape Town. William Shaw visited these towards the close of 1820, and the outcome of his visit was the erection of a small chapel, known for a long time as 'The Yellow Chapel.' In this place Methodism struck its roots deep into the life of Grahamstown, and the modest house of prayer became the spiritual home of many.[1] A more commodious chapel was built in 1831, and 'Commemoration Church' was dedicated to the service of God in 1850. At Salem, too, a more substantial, though still inadequate, chapel was built in 1821.

[1] It is good to read of the use of this chapel by the Anglicans, and of the return of the courtesy which placed it at their service when the Cathedral was offered to the Wesleyans for their annual service on 'Commemoration Day.'

At the close of his first year in the Colony Shaw reviews in his journal the extraordinary results of a year's work by the settlers. Houses and even villages were springing into existence all over the area. Hundreds of acres were under cultivation, and the signs of a prosperous community were apparent everywhere. If the Missionary deplores that an equal interest in the things of the Spirit was not equally in evidence, his doing so indicates the reality of his own concern for the souls of men, rather than any deliberate disregard of religion among men struggling with natural forces inimical to their advance. When the latter had been brought under subjection the good seed faithfully sown sprang into a harvest more wonderful than that which covered their hard-won fields.

The Committee in England saw the promise of this new Mission, and a steady stream of reinforcements followed. To enumerate the names of Missionaries who were sent to Shaw's assistance, and to characterize the service of each, would fill our pages with names, and the loyal and devoted men who built up the Methodist Church in South Africa would prefer that their memorial be sought in the service they rendered, and in the Church which has embodied it. Threlfall, the first martyr of that Church, has a right of distinction which none will refuse. He had heard the call of the Kafir, and his loving heart made him impatient of work among those who were already Christian, at any rate in name. As there seemed at first a better opening for work among Natives on the Cape Town side, he was sent to serve under Barnabas Shaw. While at Cape Town he was persuaded by the captain of a coasting vessel to begin work at Delagoa Bay. But his zeal was not according to knowledge. In that remote and most unhealthy district, where he was obliged to live under conditions that gave him no chance against the deadliness of the climate, he was speedily brought to death's door. But his name should stand as that of the first pioneer in the great movement to the north. Of his return to Barnabas Shaw at Khamiesberg, and of his death, mention has already been made. Other notable Missionaries appeared in W. J. Shrewsbury and W. B. Boyce, but their names have already appeared in this History[1] and no further reference need be made to Missionaries who in South Africa, as elsewhere, proved themselves to be

[1] See Vol. II., p. 195, and Vol. III., chap. vi.

men of gifts which would have made them remarkable in any sphere of work.

Shaw had loyally accepted the position of Minister to the Colonists, and had rapidly acquired among them a position of great influence; but, not less than his namesake at Cape Town, his eyes were straining to penetrate the dim distance northwards. His heart went out to the Kafir, and he felt the full force of that great compulsion, 'Them also I must bring.' In a letter to the Committee, written during his first year in Africa, he calls attention to the fact that 'with the exception of Lattakoo, which is far in the interior, there is not a single Mission station between the place of my residence and the northern extremity of the Red Sea, nor any people professedly Christian, with the exception of those of Abyssinia.' He is of opinion that the disturbed condition of Kafirland makes any movement in that direction undesirable for the moment, but he anticipates better conditions, and hopes to see a Wesleyan Missionary ready to enter that country and claim it for Christ.

> The time might soon follow when you would see on your list stations among the Tambookies and the Mambookies, and the various tribes of people between us and Delagoa Bay.

It was then that the conception was born in his mind of a 'chain of stations.' To quote his own words:

> I resolved, God being my helper, steadily to pursue the openings of Divine Providence in this direction, and, if aided by the Society at home, to use my utmost efforts to establish 'a chain of Wesleyan stations,' beginning near the border of the Colony and extending along the coast country of Kaffraria to Natal and Delagoa Bay.

This 'chain' now extends much farther north than Delagoa Bay, and its links have been wrought in strength and beauty, such as even Shaw could scarcely have imagined, but for all time his name will be associated with that vision splendid. He saw the far-extended line of the Church's advance before it was begun. The way led through a country in which both man and nature were hostile, and deadly in their hostility. Undaunted by hardship, undeterred by the threatened death, he vows himself to undertake the task. There is no finer example of the missionary spirit in all the annals of the Church.

His method differed considerably from that of his namesake at Cape Town. He, as we have seen, cut himself off from the capital, and established a Mission centre far in the interior at Khamiesberg. William Shaw was careful to maintain his connexion with the European Colonists. He established strong bases for further movement in their chief towns, such as Grahamstown, Queenstown, and Port Elizabeth, and it was from these that he proceeded to build up his chain of stations to the north. In contrasting the methods of the two men it must not be forgotten that Barnabas found himself surrounded by Dutchmen, who already possessed a strongly established Church of their own, and who were not too friendly with anything British, being specially opposed to all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the coloured people; while William was closely connected with British settlers, who were attached to him by reason of the service he had already rendered them, and had learned to respect the man, and to value his judgement. Many of them, too, had already entered the service of the Church as Lay Preachers and Sunday-school teachers during their former life in England. The latter worked from an established base; the former led 'a flying column,' whose nearest base was London. The conditions of life in the two spheres of service differed considerably. The Namaquas were more or less nomadic, moving their flocks from place to place in search of suitable pasture, while the Kafirs occupied a fertile country, and were now settled in their habitations. These latter conditions favoured a greater continuity of effort, and easier connexion between station and station. The stations on the west were so separated from one another that many of the advanced posts in Namaqualand had to be abandoned, and even the original Mission in the Khamiesberg, which is still occupied, does not show the strength which after a century of work we might have expected. During the decade 1830 to 1840 William Shaw strengthened his position among the Colonists by erecting chapels at Bathurst, Fort Beaufort, and Port Elizabeth, while other stations, such as Cradock, Somerset, East Colesberg, and Burghersdorp, were occupied shortly after.

The story of the Kafir Mission and of its subsequent progress is one of thrilling interest. It is a story largely unknown to Methodists of to-day, because the Mission has been removed

from under the immediate direction of the Missionary Society in England, and is now under the jurisdiction of the South African Conference; but in the earlier part of the last century the letters of the Missionaries stationed in Kafirland were eagerly read, as they appeared from time to time in the *Missionary Notices*. It was one of the most successful of modern Missions belonging to any denomination of Christians. We can attempt nothing more than a mere outline of that which was accomplished.

The Abantu people of South-east Africa may be divided into two groups, of which the Zulu-Xosa tribes occupy the country known as 'Kaffraria,' extending from the north-eastern frontier of Cape Colony to Swaziland. These tribes may be again divided into Kafirs and Zulus, the former being found, roughly, south of Durban, and the latter to the north of that town. Neither of these tribes is aboriginal in south-east Africa. The Bushmen, who are now to be found mostly in the Kalahari Desert, were there before them. They were driven into the desert in the course of the wars waged between them and the Zulus. The Bushmen were hunters and the Zulus were herdsmen. When game became scarce the Bushmen raided the cattle of the latter, and it was not until they were driven far to the west of the Drakensberg that the Abantu people had any security for their flocks and herds. The Kafirs form a race of extraordinary physique and virility. Unlike the coloured races of Australasia, they show at present no sign of becoming extinct through contact with Europeans; on the contrary, the race increases in numbers. Students of ethnology call attention to the physical and mental qualities of these people, qualities which might carry them far if they were fully developed. At present, however, their development seems, speaking generally, to come to a standstill when the age of adolescence is reached. This may be due to the cessation of education at that age, or to the predominance of the sexual instinct then first making itself felt; but in either case the cause may be removed, and the Kafir attain a full intellectual life. To the superficial observer the race seems devoid of all religious instinct. Subservience to the 'witch doctor,' and an acceptance of supernatural power as residing in charms and spells, are roughly classed as superstition, and dismissed accordingly. But such things, after all, reveal

the Kafir as one who habitually dwells in the presence of the supernatural. They indicate an unformulated belief in the existence of a Supreme Being. It is true that the Kafir has not yet passed to the consideration of that great question, 'What kind of God is it who reigneth?' and in consequence he lives in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear, and the sense of moral obligation is at best imperfectly developed. Finer moral issues are hidden from his eyes, though a rough and ready idea of justice has been evolved by him through mere force of communal life. Natural affection he has in full measure, but he awaits the revelation of the true nature of God to touch that affection into love.

It was to such people that William Shaw now turned. He had already made a study of the ethnological and political relationships of the Kafir, and he now proceeded to make a preliminary visit to the Native chiefs in the country in which he hoped to establish a Mission settlement. This was in territory under the rule of three brothers, Pato, Kobi, and Kama. In 1823 he determined to make a start. His journey lasted from September 10 until December 1. For a considerable distance a road had to be made through the forests, and fords had to be found through the many streams they met on the way. All this time the Mission party lived in wagons, and when it is remembered that Mrs. Shaw accompanied her husband it will be understood that it was no small matter to undertake a journey under such conditions. Mr. William Shepstone, one of Shaw's Lay Evangelists and a most useful collaborator—being a surveyor and builder—and his wife were also of the party. William Shepstone spent all his life in missionary work among the Kafirs, and wielded an influence at Kamastone that has perhaps never been approached by any Missionary in any field. He was also the father of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the distinguished Colonial Administrator.

Having arrived at the place selected, these pioneers set to work to build their houses, pausing now and then to deliver Gospel addresses to the crowds which gathered, consumed with curiosity, to see the strange doings of the white folk. In a very short time the Missionary found that he had begun to acquire influence with the people, and that influence he was presently to use to excellent effect.

Having now seen Shaw in actual contact with the Kafirs

we must go back to events which had happened to the tribes a short time before Shaw set out on his Mission. There had been for many years a state of perpetual war between the British Government and the Kafirs, and, as we have seen, the district between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma had been made into some sort of 'buffer state,' or neutral territory, prior to the coming of the Albany Colonists in 1820. Some concession, however, had been made in favour of Gaika chiefs and their tribes, who were allowed to reoccupy the Kat River district. The Dhlambi tribes, to which Shaw had attached himself, felt aggrieved with this arrangement, since they acknowledged no suzerainty on the part of Gaika over them, and yet part of their land had been given by Gaika to subordinate chiefs. Under the wise and kindly intervention of William Shaw a meeting took place between the Governor and the Dhlambi chief. The former had come to see that the recognition of Gaika as paramount chief had been a mistake, and, as the latter continued his marauding excursions, the whole country was disturbed. It was therefore thought well to secure the allegiance of other local tribes, and in an interview, most graphically described by Shaw in his journal, it was agreed that Dhlambi's people should reoccupy the country, from which they had been driven, between the Fish River and the Keiskamma. The help given by the Missionary in securing this concession greatly increased his hold upon the respect and affection of the tribe, and ten years of peace followed. During that period the Mission rapidly developed, and the name 'Wesleyville' was given to the settlement.

The reader must be left to imagine the service by which this was brought about—the long journeys to the kraals of surrounding tribes, the physical privations and exhaustion entailed, the depression which followed upon the failure of some hopeful movement. But through it all the Missionary was upheld by the law of love. Devotion to his Lord, and a real affection for the degraded humanity around him, explains not only the strength of his endurance, but also the success which came at last.

A great change in the habits of the people soon began to appear. The cultivation of the fields—work which had formerly been left to women—now became the occupation of the men, while cattle-raids, in which they had delighted,

ceased to attract them. The Christian Sabbath was observed, and worship became a privilege eagerly sought. Instruction in the elements of the Christian faith and practice was continuous, and presently the Chief Kama, together with his wife, was baptized.[1] In the year 1833 a great missionary meeting was held at Wesleyville, when a thousand Kafirs attended and impressive witness was borne to the saving and uplifting power of Christ. In a letter from the Secretaries, signed by Richard Watson, the Committee had expressed its cordial approval of Shaw's scheme.

(1) The plan you suggest of making stations within the Colony support, as a basis, the Missions without, must be regulated by two principles: (*a*) that your stations within the limits of the Colony should be fixed with reference to the heathen that are within it; (*b*) that the extension of the work into the 'regions beyond' be constantly kept in view, and as soon as possible, in all cases, favourable opportunities are to be reported to the Committee, or, if little additional expense is incurred, immediately embraced.

(2) That though *you* are bound to the Europeans, yet the brethren now with you are Missionaries to the heathen, and must be employed chiefly in their instruction, or in reference to it. Of course, when they supply your place when engaged in this work, they are in their own place.

(3) We have long wished that your operations in your part of Africa should be tending towards the east coast, and with your views in this respect ours fully coincide.

This letter gave Shaw what was practically a free hand, and the time had now come for him to forge a second link in his chain. He found it in the territory of a sub-chieftain of the great Gaika tribe. This chief had led an attack upon the White men of Grahamstown in 1819, and his army had completely devastated the Zuurveld. Though finally defeated, he still remained a formidable, if for the present a quiescent, antagonist. Under the gracious personal influence of William Shaw this chief now became the friend of the Christian Missionary, and a suitable site for the Mission was given at a place not far from where King William's Town now stands. This station received the name of Mount Coke, and here in after years the Mission Press was set up under the direction of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard.

[1] Kama's wife was the sister of the great Chief Makomo, who played a prominent part in the Kafir wars.

The year 1827 saw the founding of the third station at Butterworth, in the country ruled by Hintza, a powerful chief of the Gcaleka tribe, north of Wesleyville. Here the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury was appointed to labour, and under his powerful and self-obliterating ministry even the crafty and violent Hintza was brought to at least a show of friendliness to the Christians. He greatly resented, however, the attentions shown by the Missionaries to the Fingoes, a degraded tribe driven south of Natal by the Zulus, and kept by the Gcalekas in a condition of abject slavery.

The founding of Butterworth was followed in 1829 by that of Morley, under the guidance of the Rev. W. Shepstone. Clarkebury followed in 1830, with the Rev. Richard Haddy as resident Missionary. The founding of Morley is bound up with one of those incidents in the history of the British Empire which have been long forgotten, but which indicate at least one item in 'the price of Admiralty.' While Shrewsbury was at Butterworth he was informed of a certain tribe of mixed race living farther up the coast under the rule of Depa, a Pondo chief. Inquiries elicited the fact that many years before a ship had been wrecked on the coast, and three little girls had been thrown ashore. Whether any men had also been saved from the wreck is uncertain, but the three girls became in time the mothers of a considerable community, and one of them was the mother of Depa, the ruling chief. Shaw determined to visit these people, and after the Synod of 1828 he proceeded to the chief's kraal accompanied by Shrewsbury. The result of this visit was the founding of 'Morley,' and William Shepstone, who by that time had become an ordained Minister, proceeded to his new appointment, accompanied by a promising young settler of the name of Robinson, who was shortly after killed by accident.[1] Work was begun in 1829. War soon broke out between the Pondos and a neighbouring tribe, and Shepstone and his family were obliged to leave. He returned in 1830, and for some years was able to work unmolested. In the war of 1852 the station was again abandoned, and was not re-occupied until 1860. It was subsequently incorporated with Clarkebury. Towards the close of 1830 Buntingville, seventy miles north of the Umtata

[1] At first each Missionary going into the interior was accompanied by a European artisan. But a policy of retrenchment imposed by the Committee soon led to the withdrawal of the artisans.

River, was established, and here the Rev. W. B. Boyce began his varied and distinguished ministry. It was while he was at Buntingville that he discovered the rule which governs the entire grammatical structure of the Bantu languages. The importance of this discovery—known as 'the Euphonic Concord'—can scarcely be exaggerated. When Missionaries first entered Kaffraria the language had not been reduced to a written form, and it was not found possible to publish a grammar for ten years, but by the end of 1833 Boyce had published the first grammar in that language. The translating of the Scriptures and other Christian literature quickly followed. In 1846 the first edition of the New Testament was printed at the Mission Press, and ten years after the Old Testament was published in the Kafir language. If Boyce had done nothing else in the course of his ministry, he might nevertheless rejoice that he had been enabled to make the word of God available for the Kafir.

Shaw's 'chain' now extended for 200 miles, from Wesleyville to Buntingville, and the influence of the Missionaries at work was felt in all the tribes that occupied the area covered. Each station was a centre of light and love, and these two great principles of Christian life slowly but surely recreated the whole life of Kafir, Fingo, and Pondo. This was seen not merely in the improvement of all that made the material setting of that life—in more sanitary dwellings, and in the better cultivation of the land, with the result of larger and better crops—but in the gradual formation of a higher morality, and a more delicate sensitiveness to ethical considerations. As Methodists they speedily felt and responded to the appeal made to them in Christian fellowship. Here as elsewhere the Class-meeting and the Prayer-meeting were most powerful factors in creating the Christian consciousness of a people to whom any such spiritual effect had been absolutely unknown.

In 1830 William Shaw removed to Grahamstown. Three years later he returned to England for a time. Wesleyville passed to the care of the Rev. Samuel Young, and a little later to that of William Shepstone.

. . . . . .

At this point we may well turn our attention back to the other column of the Methodist advance in South Africa. During the decade in which the Mission to Kaffraria so remarkably

developed Barnabas Shaw and his brother Missionaries had not been idle. In 1820 Edwards was sent from Khamiesberg to Cape Town, where, after the arrival of the Albany Colonists, it had been thought well to withdraw the interdict on the Methodist preachers. Edwards began to preach in a hay-loft, which he presently abandoned for an unoccupied wine-store, until a small chapel was built in Barrack Street at a cost of £600. In 1826 Barnabas Shaw began the service in Cape Town which was to continue for thirty years. On the arrival of the Rev. R. Snowdall in the same year Wynberg and Simonstown were added to the Circuit. Wesley Chapel, in Cape Town, was built in 1831, and remained the principal chapel in that city for forty-eight years. During the first five years that followed preaching-places were found in and around Cape Town, and the 'Circuit Plan' began to show considerable dimensions. Other names that appeared on it were such as Stellenbosch and Somerset West. But in 1837 Barnabas Shaw returned to England, where he remained for some years. His health had been seriously undermined, and he sorely needed an opportunity for recuperation. After six years he again returned to South Africa, where he continued doing such work as his strength allowed until in 1857 he passed to the unfettered life.

We have already recorded the circumstances which led to the abandonment of the Mission to the Namaquas. But the attempt to reach the tribes in the interior was not given up by Barnabas Shaw, whose heart never lost its first love. In 1821 the Rev. Stephen Broadbent was directed to remove from Lilyfontein to Bechuanaland, where there seemed to be better prospects of success. The London Missionary Society, whose work in Bechuanaland has already been noticed, were working northwards along a line west of where the railway now runs; and, to avoid overlapping, Broadbent moved more to the east. On the journey Broadbent was seriously injured in an accident, and it was many months before he could begin work, but after the arrival of the Rev. T. L. Hodgson the two began to work among the Barolong people. They finally settled in a hilly district north of the Vaal River, not far from where the town of Klerksdorp now stands. This was a long trek from Lilyfontein, and the hardships endured by the Missionaries and their wives were enough to deter all save

those upon whose heart the infinite obligation to bring men to Christ has been laid. The settlement at Makwassi, as the place was called, was of no long duration. A fierce tribe known as the Mantatees had been driven south by the still more powerful Matabeles, and they passed through the country as a swarm of locusts, leaving desolation in their train. The prospect before Broadbent was heartrending. Hodgson, his much-loved colleague, had been removed to Cape Town, and Archbell, who had been appointed to follow Hodgson, had not yet arrived. To make matters still worse, Broadbent's health again broke down, and very reluctantly he was obliged to leave Makwassi just when the Barolongs seemed to have begun to respond to his ministry of love. Shortly after he left the settlement was raided by hostile tribes, and the Mission station was completely destroyed.

During the decade 1820 to 1830 great uncertainty, and some amount of heart-burning, among the Missionaries prevented the development of this work. The Rev. Edward Edwards was an earnest and hardworking Missionary, but impetuous and impatient of restraint, or even of direction. Although his gifts and influence were fully recognized by Shaw, Edwards seems to have resented the influence which his Chairman had with the Committee in England, and he wrote a long letter to the Committee in which he complains of the difference between their attitude to Mr. Shaw and that to himself. He concludes with the threat that after the close of the year in which he wrote (1821) he would not consider himself bound to attend to the direction of his Chairman. He was anxious to open a new Mission farther east, and Shaw wished him to remain at Lilyfontein. Later in the year he had an interview with Shaw at Cape Town, and seems, at its close, to have arrived at a better state of mind.

The Committee in England seems to have been in great uncertainty at that time as to the right lines of advance. They were anxious to begin work both at Delagoa Bay and in Madagascar, and made proposals which now seem to be lacking in knowledge of local conditions, and likely to result in nothing more than a profitless squandering of the funds at their disposal, and of what was infinitely more precious, the energies and lives of the Missionaries.

We must not be too severe in our judgement upon a

Committee administering a Mission-field so many thousands of miles away at a time when the facilities of inter-communication were such as existed in those days, but the fact remains that Shaw had on one occasion to remove a statement made in the annual Report before he could allow the latter to be distributed in South Africa, lest the Committee should come under the contempt of the Colonists for ignorance. Such an incident may easily be condoned in the light of the fuller knowledge accessible to-day, but it well illustrates the necessity of maintaining the closest possible connexion between the Administrative Board and the Missionaries on the field. Just at this time arrangements at Cape Town were little short of chaotic. At one time Broadbent, Threlfall, and Barnabas Shaw himself were under instructions to leave Africa for Madagascar, and the last named was waiting at Cape Town, with all his boxes packed, in readiness to leave for that island. After Threlfall's breakdown in health at Delagoa Bay the Committee still seemed anxious to send a Missionary to that notoriously unhealthy locality, and in 1824 Whitworth was appointed to go there, while Threlfall was to go to Madagascar. But the former wrote protesting against his appointment, and suggesting Natal as a more likely place for a Mission on the east coast. In this he was heartily supported by William Shaw. Then Archbell, Whitworth, and Hodgson sent a joint letter to the Committee in which they deal with general principles in the stationing of Missionaries so obvious that one wonders that such a letter from the field should ever be necessary. They point out the undesirability of frequent changes, not only on account of the cost of removal to stations hundreds of miles distant, but also as entailing the learning of a new language by the Missionary so removed, while the language he was at such pains to acquire remains useless, and also that the lack of continuity of service in any one place removes from the Missionary the prospect of nurturing and developing the station he has formed, often at so great a cost. They then deal with the situation at Cape Town, where three Missionaries were waiting to take passages to untried fields, while the stations they have established remained without oversight. 'Yet no one can legitimately interfere. Surely the Committee should allow discretionary power to deal with such a situation.'

It will readily be seen that these appointments, made to no purpose by the Committee, reveal the lack of any definite and intelligent plan of operation in London. Upon the headstrong and impetuous Edwards they were disastrous. To the great distress of his brethren he left Makwassi, to begin work on his own initiative among the Korannas at Moos. The Missionaries met in consultation and decided that the instructions of the Committee must be set aside, and the Mission to Madagascar be postponed. They then proceeded to station themselves in accordance with their own better knowledge of needs and prospects in the several localities. Thus Barnabas Shaw, with Threlfall, returned to Lilyfontein, Stephen Kay was at Lattakoo, in Bechuanaland, Whitworth and Snowdall remained at Cape Town, while Hodgson rejoined Broadbent, now happily recovering at Griqua Town. An admirable note by Barnabas Shaw shows how wise and far-seeing his judgement was. He points out that Delagoa Bay might quite properly become a Mission station, but that it should be approached by land; that missionary work should spread gradually from people to people; its influences must precede it, and Missionaries themselves have some previous knowledge and preparation before embarking on new work. He therefore suggested that Broadbent should go back to Khamiesberg, and then after awhile join Kay at Lattakoo, with Delagoa Bay as an ultimate objective. But many years were to pass before Methodism obtained a foothold in Delagoa Bay. After many fruitless attempts the proposed Mission to Madagascar was finally abandoned.

The Missionaries in their improvised Synod also expressed their strong disapproval of the action of Edwards, though Shaw did not consider him so blameworthy as did some of the others, and Edwards claimed afterwards that he had acted with the approval of his Chairman, and in accordance with the decision of the London Committee.[1]

As we have seen, the abandonment of Makwassi was really providential, as that station was shortly after destroyed by the Mantatees. The altercation between Edwards and his colleagues was unpleasant, and hard things were said on both sides. It culminated in Edwards, announcing his intention

[1] Edwards' name actually appeared in the Report for 1824 as being appointed to 'the Koranna Mission.'

of returning to England on furlough and of then resigning the ministry. For several years after this, however, he laboured at Khamiesberg, so that we may hope that a happier spirit of concord was established among the brethren. The incident is of importance as it reveals the difficulty of determining the appointments of Missionaries on the field by an executive thousands of miles away. Yet forty years afterwards a suggestion from the South African Mission that an increase of local autonomy was desirable received a somewhat brusque rejoinder from the Committee to the effect that so long as the Mission received such large grants they must submit to considerable control; that increased facilities of communication made such control easier than it was at first; and so licence for individual discretion and authority might be expected to diminish rather than to increase. The Committee seems to have been feeling the financial pressure at this time to be excessive, and in another letter they say: 'We fear that we have imperceptibly in your District drifted from the purely missionary work into the endowed pastorate of a Colonial Church.' Yet apparently Shaw had found it necessary to protest against the Committee doing the very thing which here they deplore in him. Thus in a letter written in 1818 he asks the Committee:

> What is your primary object in supporting a Missionary in Cape Town? The instruction of heathen or Christians? As for myself, if the greater part of my labour cannot be devoted to the heathen, whilst I bear the name of a Missionary, I shall soon be petitioning to return home, where those to whom I preach will support me. If, whilst I am preaching to heathens, I can also render any service to my countrymen, I will most gladly do it as a secondary object, but to make the Christians a primary one I should consider a total misappropriation of the Fund from which I am supported, and should rather beg to be sent to the ends of the earth.

The administrative and the executive departments of the Church had evidently failed in the matter of mutual understanding. In the course of time a happier system of appointing Missionaries to their respective stations has been evolved, and the recommendations of the brethren themselves are decided by them when assembled in Synod. They are then sent to Bishopsgate to receive the consideration of the Committee, and, if approved, the final sanction of the Conference.

Shaw's difficulties were greatly increased by the Mission to the Bechuanas. About the time when the Broadbents were directed to leave Lilyfontein in response to appeals from that tribe Stephen Kay, a promising young Missionary, was sent still farther north to a station called Lattakoo, or Letakong,[1] not far from the Kuruman River. Here the London Missionary Society had begun work, and there seems to have been some discussion as to the desirability of Wesleyan Missionaries going into that country. Shaw was of opinion that it presented a most favourable field for missionary service, and made arrangements to enter, without having first secured the consent of the Committee. The reluctance of Dr. Philip, who was then at the head of the L.M.S. work in Cape Colony, to acquiesce arose rather from his feeling that Kay was unsuitable by reason of his youth and inexperience than from the fear of overlapping. As he said, there was plenty of room for both Societies in Bechuanaland. Shaw urged that the youth of Stephen Kay was really in his favour, as helping him to learn the language more quickly than an older man would do. Whatever the difference was between the two missionary leaders, it was removed, and Kay travelled with the Moffats from Griqua Town to Letakong, and accepted their invitation to spend some time with them while he learned the language and acquired experience. The Committee, however, sent a sharp remonstrance to the Chairman for having started on this enterprise without having first obtained their consent. Shaw replied vigorously to the effect that South African stations are so remote from each other, and the difficulties of travel are so great, the kind of life, too, is so different from that in other fields, that unless the Committee will allow a measure of discretionary power in making arrangements, there will be both errors and expense. He rounds on the Committee and furnishes them with instances from their own reports which reveal their ignorance of South African conditions.

In 1822 Kay left the Bechuanas, greatly to the disappointment of his brethren, and attached himself to William Shaw at Grahamstown, pending the reception of directions from the

[1] Lattakoo, or, more correctly, Letakong, was the name given to a Station occupied by the L.M.S. about thirty miles north of their present station of Kuruman. For a long time after the station had been moved to Kuruman, the original name of the Mission Settlement continued to be used.

Committee. He continued to serve in his new field until 1830, when he returned to England.

In 1825 Hodgson and Archbell returned to the work among the Barolongs, and under the guidance of these Missionaries the tribe sought a new home. They found it at Platberg, near Warrenton, and at first there seemed to be every prospect of more settled conditions of life. The new station became a centre for scattered members of the tribe, and presently there were 8,000 Barolongs in Platberg. A chapel was built, a school was established, and a printing-press was set up. Other stations, such as Boetsap, were occupied, and the number of those admitted to Church membership began to show signs of rapid increase. Hodgson was shortly afterwards compelled through ill-health to return to England. His place was taken by the Rev. J. Edwards, who resided at Boetsap. But presently it was found that the country was deficient in its supply of water, and that it could not support so large a community as had by this time gathered round the Mission station. So once again the whole tribe 'trekked,' this time in the direction of Basutoland, where they hoped to find a more suitable place for a settlement in the neighbourhood of the Caledon River. Again we must leave our readers to fill in the picture: the crowd of Barolongs moving over the roadless and uncharted plains; in their midst the wagons of the Missionaries—sorry homes for their wives and children, exposed as they were to constant perils from Bushmen and from wild beasts. Nor was the country through which they passed exhilarating:

> The Matabele had, a short time before, swept like a tornado over the district, and as the wagons travelled through the long grass it was horrible to hear the wheels crunching the bones of human beings slain in war. The corn-pits were full, not of corn, but of human skulls. Lions and wolves abounded, and had acquired a taste for human flesh. Such was the country in 1833.[1]

They came at last to Thaba Nchu, where land was assigned them by Moshesh, the enlightened chief of the Basutos, and here the hapless homeless people, to the number of 12,000, hoped that they had found a permanent resting-place. Some of the Basutos joined them, and work among these was eagerly

[1] Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Africa*, p. 334.

taken up by Edwards. Other stations among the Mantatees and the Basutos were opened, and in 1850 a cluster of villages began to arise round and about Thaba Nchu, and Christianity, as it appeared in the social and economic life of the people, passed before the wondering eyes of the heathen. Such was the state of affairs at the time when the great Kafir war of 1850 to 1852 was being waged on the other side of the Drakensberg.

Thaba Nchu was, in the providence of God, to become the fruitful mother of other Mission Churches, but this was hid from the eyes of Broadbent, Hodgson, and Archbell, who, at the cost of privations and hardships of which we have given the merest hint, founded this Mission station, and thus commenced the Mission to the Barolongs which was to bear such abundant fruit in later years. In 1825 Broadbent was obliged to return to England, and it was with a heavy heart that he did so. Hodgson and Archbell continued the work, residing for a time at Platberg. The latter had brought with him from England a small printing press, and in a short time the first school-book printed in Sechuana appeared. In 1836 they were joined by the Revs. John Edwards and Thomas Jenkins, and in 1837 the Revs. R. Giddy and James Allison were added to the staff. The two last-named were to leave an indelible mark upon the work of the Church in South Africa ; the former, through the literary work he was able to accomplish. In a short time he had acquired the Sechuana language and was fully occupied with printing books for Mission purposes. Allison, on the other hand, was remarkable for the power which he possessed in influencing men. As we shall see, some of the most remarkable African Ministers in Natal and the Transvaal were brought to Christ through his ministry. In 1851 the station was visited by the Rev. James Cameron, who, in describing the Mission buildings, says : ' Only the chapel is in good condition ; the dwelling-houses are scarcely tenable.' It will therefore appear that these great Missionaries thought less about their own comfort than they did of the work of God. By that time there were ten stations in Bechuanaland, with eight Missionaries. The number of fully accredited Church members was 491—not a very large number, but precious seed-corn for the harvest of after days. When William Shaw paid his visit to Thaba Nchu as

Chairman of the District in 1848 he was greatly impressed by the general appearance of the settlement, which he described as being ' by far the largest Native town in British South Africa.' There were then from eight to ten thousand inhabitants.

## II

## THE OUTSPAN

White and Black in South Africa—Kafir Wars—Dr. John Philip—Conflicting Ideals—Victims of War—The Orange Free State—Survey of the Field—A Christian Chief—Natal—The Fingoes—After-effects of War—Racial Suicide—Sir George Grey's Administration—Industrial Schools—A great Revivalist—Times of Refreshing—The Dutch in Natal—Durban—James Allison—'Unzondelelo'—William Shaw, a finished Course.

WITH the appearance of the white man in Africa there arose a problem which even to-day remains unsolved. At first the terms in which the problem was expressed were of small dimensions, but now they are seen to be very large, and the intensity of the effort to solve the problem has immeasurably increased. East and west, north and south, the European finds himself confronting it. It is now 'a world-problem,' and may be stated as the adjustment of the European ideal of life to those of the coloured races. The Christian Missionary is deeply involved; and since he claims that the Gospel he proclaims offers the only solution, the general question is interwoven with every phase of his activity. In a sense the problem was inevitable. The white man needs increasingly the products of the lands inhabited by the coloured, but the coloured man is unable by himself to secure in a marketable way those products; indeed, he was at first in entire ignorance of their existence or of their value. The planter and the engineer have accordingly appeared in South Africa in ever-increasing numbers. They have found it to be a country in which they and their families may live in a fair amount of health and comfort. A host of subsidiaries have followed them. The trader, the officials of Government, the Ministers of religion, and the general European population continually increase in number. When the Dutch farmer first appeared on the scene there were no regulations to limit his demand for room to expand. He chose what seemed to him to be a

suitable locality, and claimed thousands of acres as his 'farm.' The Natives who might reside within the area he half persuaded, half compelled, to supply the labour that he needed for purposes of cultivation. The Englishman followed suit, and gradually the Native found himself no longer able without challenge to drive his flocks and herds from pasture to pasture as he had been accustomed. As the European held the secret of superior methods of cultivation, and was able to secure a crop three or four times as large as that which the Native had obtained from the same area, the former easily persuaded himself that he was cultivating waste land, and justified himself in the court of his own conscience, and in the general opinion of the civilized world. But the fact remained that under his advance the Native found himself deprived of what he considered to be long-established and ancestral rights. At first, when there was ample room for both races, the seriousness of the situation thus created did not appear; but when in the course of time both races showed considerable increase, and when invariably the white man assumed proprietorship of the best of the land, while the black man was more and more pushed into unhealthy or more barren regions, resentment quickly deepened into hostility. This was increased by regulations passed by the European for the maintenance of order or of health in the towns and districts he inhabited. The Native found the easy, unrestricted life he had lived limited in such expressions as had commended themselves to him, while taxes and other things of a like nature became an increasing burden. To meet them he was compelled to work as his fathers had never worked. To him the old order was entirely changed. A pastoral people was driven into the towns, while those who remained were dispossessed of their fields and hampered at every turn.

We cannot, then, be surprised that from time to time war broke out between two races of such opposite ideals of life, each possessed of sufficient virility, the one to assume, the other to protect, proprietorship.[1]

Anything approaching a description of the Kafir wars of 1819, 1834, and 1850 would be beyond the purview of this History of the Methodist Missions in Africa, but their causes, as already outlined, and their results, are intimately connected

[1] See Du Plessis, *Christian Missions in South Africa*, pp. 262–265

with Missionary operations. The latter were most disastrous. The theatre of war was precisely that in which the most hopeful Missionary movement had been made. The terrible tide of war swept to and fro over such promising stations as Wesleyville and Butterworth, so that in 1835 those settlements were in ruin, and though the Missionaries and their families escaped with their lives the Government ordered those in other stations, such as Morley, Clarkebury, and Buntingville, to leave their homes and to make the best way to Grahamstown, where they might be assured of protection. What it must have meant to the men and women to leave the homes in which, at the cost of infinite labour, they had been able to secure some sort of shelter for their families and a basis for their work, and to travel through difficult country, devoid of roads and bridges, exposed to murderous assault by gangs of infuriated Kafirs, must be left to the imagination of our readers. We know from their letters, in which the pathos of their own condition is half concealed by the anxiety they felt for those whom they left behind them, that what cost them most was the fact that the little flock which they had gathered out of the wilds, a flock which had already begun to respond to their appeals by more wholesome habits of life and by distinct moral effort, was now scattered far and wide, with every restraint, which through teaching and example they had accepted, taken out of their lives again. At the first outbreak the Missionaries at once took action to prevent the war. The Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, was approached, and an offer of mediation was made. As a result of this Boyce, Shepstone, and Palmer went as emissaries to the Native chiefs, and persuaded them to submit, promising that they would speak to the Governor on their behalf, and secure for them reasonable terms of peace.

The efforts of the Wesleyan Missionaries to terminate the war were crowned with success. The Ama-Xosa were placed between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers under British rule. The chiefs were made sub-magistrates to administer Native laws, subject to the control of a British agent. Witchcraft was abolished, and to compensate the chiefs for the loss of fines a small salary was allowed them, payable during good behaviour. Missionaries were to settle among them, and establish schools for the education of their children. The sale of intoxicants and material of war was strictly prohibited. There is every probability that if these wise plans had been allowed to be

carried out, the predatory habits of the Natives would in a few years have been eradicated, and the tranquillity of the frontier would have been secured.[1]

Unfortunately the home Government was at that time under the influence of the wave of emotion set up by the anti-slavery agitation, and while this was a state of feeling perfectly worthy of the nation, and in true accord with Christian ideals, it nevertheless created a prejudice against all Colonists, which in this instance was ill-informed and unjustified by facts. Lord Glenelg—at that time Colonial Secretary—carried away by popular feeling in England, and unduly influenced by one-sided representations from South Africa, recalled Sir Benjamin D'Urban—one of the best and wisest Governors ever sent to South Africa—and sent to the local Government a dispatch couched in terms so unfair to the Colonists that after subsequent investigation he was obliged to withdraw his accusations, and apologize for having made them.

The Missionaries in the Transkei did not escape the obloquy cast upon the Europeans in general. They were accused of truckling to the Government and of being bellicose in their attitude to the Natives—this at the very moment when they were risking their lives to bring about a better feeling between the British and the Kafir. The true facts were known both to the South African Government and to the Colonists, who held the Missionaries in high esteem, and appreciated their disinterested efforts, as well as their moral and spiritual efforts on behalf of the Kafir tribes. Such testimony, however, was promptly discounted in England as being given by those who were themselves incriminated.

The name of the Rev. John Philip, D.D., will remain unhappily bound up in this controversy. He had been appointed Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa in 1820, and he directed the work assigned to him with conspicuous ability and success. He, like many others, and infinitely to their credit, had been powerfully moved by the feeling in favour of the slaves, and then of all coloured subject races, and it is to be feared that a strong and worthy feeling led him astray. He was soon in conflict with the Colonial Government. The charges which he brought against certain officials were shown to be unfounded. Dr.

[1] Whiteside, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Philip had been hasty in accepting statements as of fact when they were mere travesties of fact. In 1828 he was again in trouble. On the publication by him of a work entitled *Researches in South Africa* an action for libel was brought against him and a unanimous judgement was given in favour of the plaintiff.

Now in 1835 Dr. Philip gave evidence before a 'Select Committee on Aborigines,' appointed by the House of Commons under the presidency of the well-known Thomas Fowell Buxton. The Committee's report declared that

> the Natives formed a virtuous and peaceable section of the community at the Cape; that the tendency of all the laws and ordinances that had been promulgated was to oppress and irritate the Natives; that the chief blame for the devastating Native wars which had raged must be laid at the door of the Colonists, both British and Dutch, who by continual depredations and annexations of territory had goaded the Natives to acts of retaliation and revenge—and in particular that the war of 1834 to 1835 had been thus provoked.[1]

Rightly or wrongly, it was held that the findings of this Committee were largely due to the strongly held, but entirely prejudiced, views of Dr. Philip. No inquiries were made, either of Government officials or of Missionaries at work in the area affected by the war, and it is significant that two of Dr. Philip's colleagues, who were at work in Kaffraria, dissociated themselves from conclusions which he fervently endorsed, even if he did not advance them. The whole course of Dr. Philip's action is considered with open mind and balanced judgement by Du Plessis, and the following statement which he makes on page 152 of his work may be accepted as substantially correct:

> Philip has been made in turn the subject of the most extravagant laudation and the most unmeasured vituperation. Neither the one nor the other is wholly deserved. He was a man of quite exceptional ability, and one who succeeded in impressing his powerful personality upon all who happened to agree with his views. The attitude of mind with which he regarded the Natives was an inheritance from Van der Kemp. Philip was, however, more practical than Van der Kemp, more persistent in pursuing his aims, and less scrupulous as to the means employed for attaining them. He made many disingenuous statements, which he was frequently unable to substantiate and not

[1] Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

sufficiently honest to withdraw. But with all his faults he must be set down as one of the greatest benefactors of the Hottentots and other Natives that have lived in South Africa. His advocacy of their rights led him indeed to lengths which are greatly to be deplored, and the methods which he adopted provoked the extremest animosity towards his person, but he held on his way with unflinching courage, and for that we cannot refuse him a meed of praise.

Fortunately for the Wesleyan Missionaries at that time the Rev. William Shaw was in England, and in memorials to the Government, as well as in the public Press, he vigorously denounced the charges which had been made against the Missionaries as a body, and declared the true cause of the outbreak of war to have been, not the iniquity of the settlers, but the mistaken policy of past Governments.[1]

Time and the irrefutable evidence of facts led eventually to the softening down, and ultimately to the obliteration, of all that such inter-denominational controversy entails, but the consequences of the intervention of the supreme Government were disastrous. The warlike Kafir tribes were reinstated in the Transkei, where they kept the whole frontier in a state of disorder, while the admission of Hottentots into the area led to further complications, since they, instead of being a bulwark against the Kafirs, rather aided and abetted them in their marauding excursions. Raiding and murder became more and more frequent, and in 1846 war again broke out. For two years there was no security for either property or life, and once again the Mission stations were destroyed. Peace came with the exhaustion of the Kafirs, but as soon as they recovered it again broke out in 1850. It was finally brought to a close by the employment of British troops, but only after a long and costly campaign.

There was another result of the Government policy fraught with most serious consequences to both the political and the missionary history of South Africa. The Dutch Colonists had never fully and cordially accepted the British suzerainty. The ideals of the two peoples, especially in the matter of the relation of the Whites to Blacks, were radically different, and British philanthropy was held to be misplaced, when its object was Hottentots and Kafirs. But for some time the British Government was accepted as inevitable, and the tenacity

[1] See W. B. Boyce, *Memoir of William Shaw*, pp. 151 ff.

and practical efficiency inherent in the Dutch promised to be a valuable factor in the formation of the national character that was slowly forming in the welter of races in South Africa. But the emancipation of the slaves in 1834 was a heavy blow to the Dutch. The amount allotted to the Cape as 'compensation,' out of the twenty million pounds voted by the House of Commons as compensation to slave-holders, was not half of the amount which was expected, and the method of distribution was such as still further to diminish each individual grant. Many well-to-do Colonists were in a moment reduced to beggary. But the hardest blow of all was delivered in the dispatch of Lord Glenelg, already referred to. Not only were the Colonists exposed to the attacks of swarms of ruthless savages, but they were now informed that this was a righteous judgement upon them for their unkindly treatment of the Natives, and that the latter were justified in raiding their cattle and destroying their farms. They decided that the situation was intolerable, and in 1837 the Dutch farmers gathered their goods and chattels together, abandoned their homesteads, and trekked northwards to the broad unclaimed territories of the upper veldt, where the writ of the British did not run, and where they might hope to live untrammelled by a foreign Government, and free from the incessant irritation of a misplaced philanthropy. Some ten thousand thus left their farms. It was all most deplorable. An embittered people abandoned their homes, and established a community which remained hostile to the British for many years. Even now that hostility cannot be said to have entirely disappeared. In the intervening years wars have broken out between the two races, and the latest, and—in this we are confident—the last, brought to both a loss of wealth and an incalculable loss in life. Yet the British may fairly claim that in all the century of conflict they were moved by no selfish motive; that their constant endeavour was to hold the balance fair and square between the European and the Native. They sought in the inevitable clash between civilization and barbarism to secure for each 'an equality of opportunity.' It is lamentable that such efforts should issue in racial bitterness and the desolations of war and the shedding of blood. The historian, seeking for the cause of such deplorable issues of what was good in intention, will find it in the attempt to

introduce civilization apart from the Christian ethic. Where 'civilization' means the exploiting of the Native, dispossessing him of fruitful fields, and pushing him ever farther and farther into unhealthy or unproductive regions, and waging an unequal war against him when he refuses to go, it is obvious that such 'civilization' is unworthy of a Christian nation, and it carries with it an inevitable retribution to fall upon those who enforce it. All this is mere 'commonplace' to the Missionary, but he cannot stand aside and pass judgement upon a Government from outside. He himself has to play his part in the working out of the tremendous issues. If he remains content with the repetition of shibboleths, often sectarian, or prides himself on hearing his converts repeat the creed he has so easily learnt, then he, too, no less than the political Government, fails in advancing the true interests of the people for whom he works. Both the official of Government and the Missionary of the Church need to keep before themselves as the governing idea in their respective fields of service that they have come into the life of the Natives as trustees; that absolute justice to the subject race is an obligation that rests upon them; that the building up of character is the first consideration; and that the setting forth of Christian ideals for society is a part of the Missionary's Gospel. They should both look forward in hope and expectation to the time when their common Ward will have attained to racial manhood, and be able to use for the general good of the world the resources which belong to his country, and to contribute what may be of value in his own religious conceptions to the universal Church of the living God. In education, whether secular or religious, in trade, in the administration of justice—in short, in the whole range of social life—the Missionary and the political agent should be blended into one, and there should be between them a common purpose and aim.

It may fairly be claimed that the responsible leaders of our missionary agency in South Africa had such an ideal before them from the first. The two Shaws, and the long succession of able Church administrators which followed them, took up no narrow or merely sectarian point of view. They were actuated by the tenderest and most genuine regard for the Natives among whom they worked. They found in each individual Hottentot and Kafir 'one for whom Christ died,'

and they loved their people in Christ. At the same time they saw that both Hottentot and Kafir needed to learn how to contribute worthily to the new communal life that had come to his country. That this is coming to be recognized as the true aim of the Missionary is a cheering sign for those who have so often suffered from misrepresentation of their purpose and work. To quote but a single instance, Mr. Maurice S. Evans, in a closely reasoned and absolutely impartial work entitled *Black and White in South Africa*, says :

> The Missionaries have entered into the lives of the people, have taught trades, encouraged thrift and industry, made efforts to teach better methods of agriculture, induced them to build better houses and to use furniture, and among women have given instruction in house and laundry work and taught them some simple industries. They are all anxious, if adequate support is forthcoming, to undertake this and similar work on a larger scale than anything hitherto attempted. It will come as a surprise to many to learn that missionary effort is the only force which has yet, in any direct way, attempted the education and the uplifting of the Abantu people over a large portion of South Africa.

To show that the same ideal is coming to be the aim of the secular Government we would cite the findings of the South African Native Commission, on which there was not a single representative of missionary work. The clauses which follow are taken from Mr. Maurice Evans' work already quoted.

> Clause 289. It does not seem practicable to propose any measure of material support or aid to the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise, but the Commission recommend full recognition of the utility of the work of the Churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelizing the heathen, and have adopted the following resolution :
>
> (*a*) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the Natives is to be found in Christianity.
>
> (*b*) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all Native schools.

Who shall say after this that Church and State may not some day find themselves partners, equal in honour and responsibility, in the work of bringing the world to a knowledge of Christ ?

But though we may rest assured that the Missionaries, so far from being the causes of the war, were the one factor in the general situation which might have contributed to a

peaceful and reasonable solution of the problem, they suffered severely both in person and work from the effects of the Kafir wars. The war of 1850 to 1852 was by far the most disastrous of the whole series. The Hottentots who had been brought into the district to form a sort of ' buffer state ' between the Colonists and the wild tribes farther east proved to be treacherous, and instead of deterring the Kafirs incited them to ' drive the British out of the country.' It cost the British much in money and in life before order was restored. The Mission stations in Kaffraria were again in the very centre of the arena. Once again the Missionaries were obliged to leave their homes, and once again the Mission settlements were destroyed. A single instance must suffice to show the conditions under which at this time the work was carried on. The Rev. F. P. Gladwin was stationed at Butterworth when fighting began, and the chief, Krielie, whose attitude was most suspicious throughout this period, declared that as his people were no longer under control he could not protect the Missionary. He therefore urged him to leave and seek protection elsewhere. But Gladwin knew that to do so meant the destruction of the station, while the band of refugees would have to pass through a country swarming with hordes of Kafirs, who would know that their chief's protection had been withdrawn. Accordingly for months he remained at his post, never knowing whether the threatened attack would be made or not. When the British troops began to move, it became necessary to vacate the station, and the Governor instructed him to do so. They had travelled fifteen miles when a column of smoke behind them declared only too plainly the destruction of their home. The following extract is Gladwin's description of the flight of his party :

Imagine five thousand human beings of all ages, and under all the excitements of such a scene ; about thirty thousand head of cattle and goats, together with the troops and wagons, moving on like a vast cloud ; men, women, and children and cattle, drinking up every little puddle of water they met with ; old people and children fainting from the heat of the sun ; the Kafirs attacking, killing one and wounding another. Thus we moved on amidst the lowing of cattle, the firing of musketry, and crying of children, enveloped in a cloud of dust which rendered invisible every object at the distance of ten yards, and the whole of this scene heated with one of Africa's hottest suns. In this state we reached the river, and here our circumstances were not

improved, for we found scores of the carcases of dead cattle in a putrid state. These cattle had been left by General Somerset's division, which had passed on before us about ten days. To our great annoy ance the river was not fordable, and in the midst of this putrid flesh we had to spend the night. The only way I could get a little cool, or escape the fearful effluvia arising from so many dead animals, was to lie down in the water, and for the night I selected my bed among the stones at the very edge of the water, and enjoyed a little fresh breeze.

It is well that the Methodist people, rejoicing over the strength of the Church to-day, should remember at what a cost that position has been won. That such sufferings were not in vain may be seen from a letter written to the Rev. Elijah Hoole by one of the settlers who had returned to England. Mr. Tucker says :

It is my firm conviction that but for Wesleyan Methodism, or rather the influence exercised over the minds of the Kafir and Fingo Natives by Wesleyan Missionaries, the whole of the eastern provinces long ere this would have fallen into the hands of rebel Hottentots and marauding Kafirs. It has given me great pleasure to advocate the cause of Wesleyan Missions, and refute the slanderous charges of their enemies, whenever opportunity offered, and will, I trust, ever continue to do so.

But in 1855 the whole missionary community was in a state of serious depression. It seemed as though the work which had been so full of promise was ruined beyond hope of recovery. Their staff was depleted and their stations in ruins. The defeated Kafirs were sullen and suspicious, and the prospect seemed infinitely worse than it had been when they first began their work in Kaffraria.

While the Grahamstown District thus passed through the fiery furnace the Missionaries at Thaba Nchu and Platberg, on the north side of the Drakensberg, were in a similar state of distress. The chief stations occupied were Thaba Nchu, where the majority of the Bechuana Barolongs were located, Platberg, occupied by the 'Newlanders,' a tribe of mixed blood, the offspring of Dutch and Hottentots, who had come from Griqualand, and Mpukane, where the Korannas, a sub-division of the Hottentot race, were settled. The Mantatees, the former persecutors of the Barolongs, had also received a Mission agent, and a station was opened for them at Mparani. All these stations were now attached to the Grahamstown

District, and thus came under the care of William Shaw. This section of the District was situated in territory over which Moshesh, the chief of the Basutos, claimed suzerainty, and he had given to the earliest Missionaries the title-deeds by which they held their land. When the Dutch began to migrate from British territory many of them crossed the Orange River, and settled in what was afterwards known as 'The Orange Free State.' Trouble began with their coming. Crime was prevalent, and a general condition of unrest and disorder prevailed. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the whole district between the Orange and Vaal Rivers to be British territory. An administration was set up, under which all coloured tribes were left to the government of their chiefs, and the land occupied by them was secured against encroachment. This was resented by the Boers, and fighting soon began. It culminated in the battle of Boomplaatz, when the Dutch were defeated. Then difficulties arose between the British and the Basutos. In the fighting which followed the advantage was not wholly on the side of the British, and shortly afterwards the British in 1854 handed over the whole of 'The Orange River Sovereignty' to the Boers. During all this time the Missionaries at Thaba Nchu and Platberg were the victims of incessant raids and of actual war. They were obliged at last to abandon their stations and to find protection in Bloemfontein, returning to their work when the country became more settled.

The year 1855 affords a convenient point of time in which to take a general survey of the whole South African field. In the Cape of Good Hope District Barnabas Shaw was then a Supernumerary Minister, residing at Rondebosch, and William Moister was Chairman of the District.[1] In Namaqualand the stations at Khamiesberg, Nisbett Bath, and Hoole's Fountain were still maintained, but the membership in none of these was more than 200, and in the last named it was considerably less. The strongest Church in the District was to be found in Cape Town, though Somerset West was not far behind. There were 11 Missionaries on the staff of the District, and the total membership amounted to 1,281. But it must be remembered that the Bechuana District, now attached to Grahamstown, was originally an off-set from Cape Town.

[1] See Vol. II., p. 345.

The Albany and Kaffraria District had made a much greater advance, and was divided into (1) Colonial stations, of which there were, including the Mission at Durban, no less than twelve, with the same number of Missionaries in charge. William Shaw was still serving as Chairman of the District, and in this section alone there were more than 1,400 members. (2) In British Kaffraria there were six stations with six Missionaries, among whom F. P. Gladwin, William Shepstone, and J. W. Appleyard had rendered many years of service. This section was still suffering from the ravages of war. Stations of great promise, such as Butterworth, Morley, and Shawville, were without resident Missionaries. The wonder is that there were any members remaining after the war, but in a most extraordinary way the little flock had kept together, and more than 420 members were returned. (3) Bechuanaland. Here there were 383 members, with three Missionaries to care for them. The total membership for the whole District was thus 2,869. In the next decade, as we shall see, that number was more than doubled. A pleasing feature of the South Africa Districts at this time was the considerable number of Local Preachers and Sunday-school teachers who freely gave their services to the Church. The service rendered to the first Colonists by Wesleyan Missionaries had for its fruit a laity of simple but complete devotion to their Lord and Master, and revealing a spirit of abounding generosity. Substantial chapels and large gifts of land, together with the endowment of various institutions, remain to mark the latter, but the former finds its sufficient memorial in the living Church, so largely the result of their self-denying service.

From this general survey we now come back to the Mission in Kaffraria. This will always be associated with the name of Kama, the first Christian chief of that country. His name first appears in connexion with William Shaw's visit to Kaffraria in 1822. On that occasion Kama and his brother Pato, the chiefs of the Gcaleka tribe, received the Missionary with enthusiasm, and on his return to Grahamstown Shaw took Kama with him. The young chief was deeply impressed by what he saw of the life of a Christian community, and while attending Christian worship he came under distinctly religious influence. In 1825 he, with his wife, a daughter of the paramount chief, was baptized by Shaw at Wesleyville His

brother Pato offered no opposition to this step, hoping that Kama's action would lead to his being ostracized by the tribe, in which case his own position would be so much the stronger. After a while the two brothers separated, and Kama, with a small following, removed to Newtondale, near the Fish River. In the war of 1846 Pato was found fighting against the British, but Kama remained loyal, and was able to render the British valuable assistance. In 1849 the Rev. William Shepstone was appointed to labour among Kama's people, and the settlement received the name of Kamastone, the names of the two men being thus happily blended to mark the station. During the years of war Kama's personal loyalty and religious faith were tested in every conceivable way. With no Missionary near to offer counsel or to contribute support, Kama became the spiritual leader as well as the political chief of his people. Christian ordinances were duly observed by him, and, at the cost of offending the powerful Chief Hintza, Kama refused to become a polygamist, and sent back to her father the daughter whom Hintza had sent to him to be his second wife. In the war of 1850 Kama again fought with the British, and this time he received as a reward a tract of land adjoining the Keiskamma River. There he established a Mission station, which he named 'Annshaw' in honour of the wife of his friend. In 1856 Kama revealed again a Christian spirit by succouring, as we shall see, his distressed fellow countrymen. He died in 1875, leaving behind him the record of 'a noble man; a just governor; a faithful Christian.' That record was well and truly earned. In 1875 a touching letter from the Rev. John Walton describes the memorial church built to commemorate the first Christian chief of Kaffraria.

With the admission of the Bechuanaland Mission to the Grahamstown District the two lines of advance, which we have been following hitherto, merged into one. But before those lines met at Thaba Nchu a third line was begun, and this ran through the heart of the Province of Natal. Its base was Durban, and the story of the Natal Mission is, like every other story of South Africa, instinct with the romance of a great adventure. Here the clash between White and Black was on such a scale as we have not met before. The former had increased in numbers; they had become aware that their opponents were strong and determined fighters,

and they realized that a severe struggle was before them if they were to make good their position in South Africa. The latter comprised the finest men and the most redoubtable warriors in South Africa. All authorities speak of the splendid physique and of the virility of the Zulu people. The conflict between the two involved the whole question of sovereignty in South Africa. It began as early as 1823, when a company was formed in Cape Town to develop the trade in ivory. Elephants have been driven far north of Durban now, but in those days Natal was considered a suitable hunting-ground for these animals. In the twenties a state of terrorism pervaded all tribes in the vicinity owing to the raids and invasions of the Zulus under their notorious chief, Chaka. The massacres carried out under his directions are scarcely credible, but there is evidence available to prove even the most incredible story. It has been estimated that about a million of people were done to death by the hordes of warriors under his command.[1]

This monster of cruelty was himself assassinated by his own brothers, one of whom, the well-known Dingaan, succeeded to the command of the tribe. Under the pressure of these ruthless armies two movements of the weaker tribes took place. For a good many years bands of refugees sought the protection afforded them in British Colonies, where they were known by the name of Fingoes. Their Native land seems to have extended from Natal as far north as Delagoa Bay, but, driven south, they entered Kaffraria, where they accepted for the most part the position of labourers, and were little better than slaves to the more powerful Kafirs. A second and more considerable movement took place, when large numbers of these people, dispossessed by the Zulus, invaded the territories of the Bechuanas and the Griquas. Driven off by these, they in their turn came south, and threatened to overrun the Amaxosa tribe. This latter appealed to the British for protection, and the invaders were quickly broken up and dispersed. The tribes thus driven from one place to another were at first called 'Fitcani,' but afterwards they became merged with the Fingoes, and came under the same appellation.

[1] William Shaw in his *Story of My Mission* estimates that over an area of 100,000 square miles not less than half the entire population was destroyed.

Numbers of these were found in the neighbourhood of Butterworth, where Mr. Shrewsbury and afterwards Mr. Ayliff gathered them together, and became the much-loved Pastors of these depatriated and despised people. Sir Benjamin D'Urban took them directly under British protection, and located large numbers of them in the country to the east of the Fish River, and declared them free men. A settlement was found for them at Fort Peddie. Later on the all-important grant of a legal title to the land held by individuals was given them, and their position was thus made secure.

When William Shaw returned from England in 1837 he visited the Fingo settlement, and Mission stations were established at Newtondale,[1] Healdtown, Kamastone, and Durban, this last name being given in honour of the distinguished Governor who did so much for the Fingoes. It was from Durban that our third column of advance started and proceeded on its march northwards, claiming both the stalwart Zulu and his hapless victim, the Fingo, for Christ. The result of missionary service among these last, backed up by sympathetic co-operation on the part of the Cape Colony Government, has evoked the admiration of such well-informed critics as Mr. Maurice Evans,[2] to whose work an appreciative reference has already been made. The enlightened policy of the Cape Government, to which Mr. Evans so often refers, consisted largely in a recognition of Missionaries as the friends of the oppressed, and the guides and teachers of backward races. Sir George Grey, in particular, urged the Missionaries to establish industrial schools, and substantial grants in aid were made from Government funds. Such schools were accordingly set up at Salem, Healdtown, and Lesseyton, while the Free Church of Scotland Mission established their widely known and most successful school at Lovedale. The Healdtown school rapidly grew, under the able management of Ayliff, into a large and prosperous establishment, though when the Rev. John Kilner paid his secretarial visit to South Africa he did not consider that it had accomplished all that was at first

[1] It is noticeable how many localities in Kaffraria perpetuate the names of Methodists belonging both to England and South Africa. William Shaw, in his *Memoirs*, claims that that the originally blank map of South Africa was filled up by Wesleyan Missionaries with the names of mountains, rivers, and tribes. The Map of South Africa is thus a standing memorial of the labours of our Missionaries, and of their grateful loyalty to the leaders of their Church.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-125, 259, cet.

expected. It is precisely such schools that Mr. Maurice Evans considers to be the first need in the uplifting of the Abantu people in Natal.[1] Under the wise shepherding of the Missionaries the Fingoes in Kaffraria came rapidly into a condition of independence and prosperity. As early as 1860 William Shaw speaks of them as having accumulated a vast amount of live-stock and other property, and during the troubled period of the Kafir wars they remained faithful to their spiritual guides and to the Government that had befriended them.

The after-effects of war are not less calamitous than war itself, and in 1855 the Missionaries in Kaffraria were in a state of great depression. Their hard-won flocks were scattered; the churches and homes they had toiled to erect were in many instances burnt to the ground. The defeated tribes were sullen, suspicious, and resentful. There was no sense of security. It seemed as if at any moment the fury of destruction might again break out, and any salvage they might hope to secure from the wreck be once more swept away. They faced the question of reconstruction with little hope. Such hope as remained was again diminished by the fact that their numbers were greatly reduced. Where before they had seven Missionaries and seven lay helpers, they now had two Missionaries and two assistants, while the Christian artisans who had assisted them in the erection of their homes and their chapels were withdrawn. It was true that, in the providence of God, no Missionary had lost his life while the war continued, but even that consolation was now to be taken away. The Rev. J. S. Thomas was left in charge of no less than five stations. He had two assistants, but all three men were separated by a great distance. Thomas had sought a better location for his people than Clarkebury, where an inadequate supply of water was a constant difficulty, and while he was in search of this among the Pondos a raid was made upon his people. In the darkness of the night Thomas was killed by those who had professed themselves the friends of the Missionaries. It is supposed that in the darkness, covered as he was with a blanket, he was mistaken for a Native. The Pondo chiefs were greatly distressed, and offered what reparation was within their power, but nothing could bring back the invaluable life, and the work of the Mission in this area pressed all the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff.

more heavily upon those who remained. In 1857 a sorely needed reinforcement was sent from England, and the Revs. W. R. and J. Longden, P. Hargreaves, and E. Gedye arrived towards the end of the year.

Meantime an event transpired in Kaffraria which is without parallel in the records of the nations. There have been cases in which whole nations have been exterminated, but only one is known in which a nation committed suicide. This amazing thing was done by the Kafirs, and in consequence their power as a hostile tribe was broken, never to be restored. It came about in this wise. Kreli, the paramount chief of the Gcalekas, had in his court a soothsayer, whose daughter was said to have the gift of prophecy. This girl declared that she had been in communication with the spirits of departed chiefs, who had declared to her their own immediate return to life, that they might drive the foreigner out of the land, and restore the Amaxosa to wealth and power. Cattle of extraordinary beauty would be given them in thousands, and their granaries would overflow with grain. The people themselves were to be endowed with immortality, and a millennial reign of affluence and peace would ensue. The very day on which this was to take place was revealed. On that day the sun would be turned into blood, and would set in the east instead of the west. Signs and wonders confirming the prophecy were speedily forthcoming. One condition was laid down. The people should prove their faith by destroying their herds, and burning whatever provisions they possessed. The most complete obedience was given. It is almost incredible, but the fact is sufficiently attested. It has been calculated that 200,000 cattle were killed; the granaries were completely emptied. 'The land was silent; not a cock crowed.'[1] The local Commissioner, Mr. Charles Brownlee, rode through the country reasoning, expostulating, warning; but his efforts were fruitless. When the day came the whole population found itself faced with immediate and inevitable starvation. Hordes of people, scarcely able to move from lack of food, crowded into neighbouring districts, their tracks marked by long lines of dead. It has been estimated that 25,000 Kafirs died from starvation. Out of many vivid descriptions of this occurrence we select a brief extract from

[1] Whiteside, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

the letter written by the Rev. W. Impey, and dated June 7, 1858 :

> From the day we left King William's Town to the day we reached Clarkebury—a distance of a hundred and twenty miles—travelling through a country formerly teeming with inhabitants, I did not see a single Kafir, a single kraal, or a single patch of cultivated ground. This tract is one vast wilderness, utterly depopulated by the fearful delusion of which you have heard. The population that in former days occupied these hills are become a people ' scattered and peeled.' Thousands have passed into the Colony to seek a maintenance by labour among the farmers ; thousands more have passed eastwards to those tribes who have escaped this fearful visitation ; and thousands more, whose bones now bleach by the deserted homesteads, have perished.

The Government sought by the distribution of food to mitigate this calamity, and at the Mission stations such resources as were available were freely bestowed upon the starving people, but such help was only local and utterly insufficient. The Christian chief, Kama, set a fine example by succouring many of the hapless folk, and his generous help was acknowledged by the Government. His tribe, owing to the enlightenment which had come to them through their Christian faith, was exempt from the overwhelming calamity which had fallen upon their heathen fellow countrymen. Into the districts, depopulated and desolate by reason of ' a strong delusion and a lie,' other tribes were gradually moved. The Fingoes especially, who had remained faithful to the British during the wars, and who had prospered amazingly, received an allotment of an area of about fifty square miles round and about Butterworth, their former colonies at Peddie, Healdtown, and Mount Coke being now overcrowded. At Butterworth they came under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. Longden in a district now known as Fingoland. Nothing more conclusively illustrates the uplifting power of Christianity than the history of this people. From being the abject slaves of the Amaxosa Kafirs at the time when, in 1835, they migrated to Fort Peddie, they had now become within the short space of thirty years rich in cattle, skilled in all sorts of handicraft, devout and law-abiding Christians, and were at last brought by Government to occupy the land of the very tribes that had so cruelly oppressed them.

The decade which followed was marked by quiet, patient endeavour to repair the ravages of war. Inter-tribal raids occurred from time to time, but there was no likelihood of another war between Kafir and British. Under the wise administration of Sir George Grey,[1] relations between the Whites and the Blacks were more reasonable, and therefore more stable, than before. Sir George Grey saw clearly the civilizing effect of missionary work among heathen tribes, and he furthered such efforts. He was specially in favour of securing the establishment of industrial schools, towards which generous grants in aid were made by the Government. The Governor took a special interest in the school at Healdtown, for which he not only chose the site but offered a rough plan of the building required, and secured a grant of £3,000 towards its erection. The Rev. J. Ayliff was the first Governor of this school, and remained there until shortly before his death in 1862. He was followed by the Rev. Gottlieb Schreiner, distinguished not only for his missionary service but also through the subsequent career of his children. One of these became in after days the Premier of Cape Colony, while his daughter Olive has become known wherever the English language is spoken by reason of her great literary gifts.

The Healdtown industrial school had not, as such, a long existence. With the removal of Sir George Grey in 1881 a reaction in Government policy set in. Grants for industrial schools were cut down, and all the schools set up by our Missionaries closed their industrial departments. This was a most unfortunate retrenchment on the part of the Government, and revealed a lack of insight deplorable in those who were called to shape the destinies of Africa. For experience has shown that of all forms of education industry is that which has proved most beneficial to the African. This set-back continued for twenty years, when the Government reverted to the policy of Sir George Grey, and schools in which the dignity and advantage of skilled labour are taught became an outstanding feature of most South African Missions, to the immeasurable benefit of the African.

By the close of the year 1865 most of the old stations were reoccupied, and the people were gradually returning to centres where the Missionary could reach them. But the feeling of

[1] See Vol. III., pp. 104, 231, 238.

depression remained, and the infant Church of South Africa sorely needed the inflowing of new life where vitality was low. Cape Town Colony had not suffered directly from the wars which left Kaffraria a region of desolation. But Cape Town had other troubles of its own. Drought and cattle disease had in many instances reduced the farmers to poverty, and the consequent stagnation of trade affected all other classes of the community. But 'If winter comes, can spring be far behind?' To this Church, in its weakness and depression, there now came one of those seasons of refreshing which declare the presence of the Lord, and though the toiling workers knew it not, there was close upon them the dawn of a day in which the repressed and mutilated Church was to receive a great expansion and to grow rapidly into both beauty and strength. The revival of 1866 marks the beginning of a distinct era in the history of the Methodist Church in South Africa.

It began with the arrival of the Rev. William Taylor, who for family reasons came to South Africa in that year. Mr. Taylor was a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, where he was known as an Evangelist of remarkable power. Among the rough miners of California he had been a Minister of God, and many a life had been enriched with what was better than gold through his ministry. He gave himself up to the work of an evangelist. From California he went to Canada, and thence to Australia, and through his preaching hundreds of men and women were brought by the Spirit of God into newness of life.[1] From town to town in South Africa this God-gifted Evangelist passed, and wherever he came men and women were brought to a conviction of sin, and sought and found forgiveness and peace in Christ. At first this work was entirely among English-speaking people, but presently Mr. Taylor enlisted the service of Charles Pamla, and found in him an ideal interpreter. This latter is thus described by Whiteside[2]:

> He stood six feet high, was black as jet, and had a powerful voice.

[1] The present writer well remembers the services conducted by Mr. Taylor in Wesley Chapel, Kingston, Jamaica, after his visit to South Africa. The big strong man with kindly eyes, full of peace and gentleness, made a great impression upon the mind of a boy in whose father's house Mr. Taylor resided during his visit to Jamaica. He left behind him as a souvenir of his visit several volumes in which his work in America and Australia was described; the perusal of these had much to do with forming the religious convictions of the writer of these pages.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

Above all, he was an earnest Christian, and had sold house and farm that he might devote his life to the work of teaching Christianity to his countrymen. He had studied Wesley's writings, and when appointed to conduct a service would often read one of Wesley's sermons, and endeavour to make it plain to his hearers.

The effect of the preaching of these two men on the Africans was extraordinary. Over every one of the Mission stations whose names have so often appeared in these pages there swept a great tide of new life in God, refreshing and cleansing all the channels of human life, until homes and churches alike overflowed with joy. To the Missionaries, worn out with the toil of rebuilding ruined churches, depressed with the thought that hitherto they had spent their strength for nought, and that their present labour might speedily be again undone—to these men this revival brought an access of joy and hope and power that could never be measured. To many of them it also brought such an experience of God as made them feel that they, too, were born again into the life of the Spirit. From Cape Town to Natal, along the whole length of the 'chain of stations,' the fire ran, bringing warmth and light and power, and probably its greatest effect was seen where the message was last delivered—in Natal. The whole of the *Missionary Notices* of December, 1866, is given up to the record of this outpouring of the Spirit upon the South African Church. Limitations of space forbid the insertion here of more than one or two extracts from the letters of Missionaries overflowing with gratitude and joy. The first is from the Rev. H. H. Dugmore :

Leaders in vice have become champions in defence of the religion they had reviled. Men of profligate lives have, with bitter shame, made confession, and are endeavouring to repair the evil of their former courses by zealous and courageous activity in a new one. Drunkards, who were the terror of their families and the pests of their neighbourhood, have renounced the use of intoxicating liquors, and the very alteration in their outward appearance proclaims the change within. Profane swearers are shuddering at the recollection of their favourite oaths and blasphemies. Frauds and wrongs have been acknowledged, and restitution made. Long-standing family discords have been healed, and quarrels that had lasted for years ended in the overture for reconciliation by the parties most aggrieved.

The second is from the Rev. W. E. Rayner, who writes from Morley :

Towards the end of the service the Holy Ghost descended with overwhelming power upon the congregation; and when the Preacher called upon all those to stand who were willing to come to Christ nearly the whole congregation rose in a mass, and then with a great cry prostrated themselves before the Lord. It was a scene for angels to rejoice over. . . . We now present the unwonted spectacle of two Native villages in the very heart of heathendom, where more than half of the entire population—I speak this advisedly—are converted to God, and living holy lives.

The third and last is from the Rev. C. Harmon, writing from Durban:

The sights we have witnessed round the pulpit and at the penitent-form have thrilled our hearts with holy joy. Old and young, rich and poor, parents and children, brothers and sisters, bowing together as weeping penitents, and then, as one after another believed and entered into rest, congratulating each other on the blissful change. I shall never forget the beaming eyes and radiant faces of some who then tasted that the Lord is gracious.

After Mr. Taylor's departure the good work continued, and the Church rejoiced exceedingly with great joy. It is not without a happy significance that Charles Pamla, on the completion of this special service, went quietly to the theological institution at Healdtown, where with others he sought to make himself still more efficient in the service of Christ. He was ordained in 1871, and continued to serve the Church of Christ until long after the formation of the South Africa Conference.

But we must now return to the group of ivory merchants who had settled on the east coast, where the flourishing town of Durban now stands. They were in constant peril from the Zulus, under their two notorious chiefs, Chaka and Dingaan, and when the Boers under Pieter Retief came through the passes of the Drakensberg into the country between the Tugela and the Bushman's Rivers it is hard to say which were the more pleased—the British because of the protection afforded by the Dutch farmers, or the Boers because of the fertile lands to which they had come. On the murder of Retief by the treacherous Dingaan, and of the terrible revenge of the Boers under Pretorius on Dingaan's Day—December 16, 1838—we may not dwell. Unhappily hostilities broke out between Boer and Briton in which the latter were often hard pressed.

The ultimate issue, however, was that Natal was declared a British Colony, and the Boers went back through the Drakensberg to the high veldt where they hoped to escape the many restrictions put upon them by the British Government. This was in 1842. The incessant conflict between the Boers and the Natives in Natal thus came to an end. The British had no wish to expel the former from the proclaimed territory, but they laid down three conditions, on the observance of which they might remain, and these are worth recording here as showing the spirit in which such annexations of territory were made. The conditions were :

1. That there shall not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed, but that the protection of the law in letter and substance shall be extended to all impartially.

2. That no aggression shall be sanctioned upon the Natives residing beyond the limits of the colony under any plea whatever, by any private person, or any body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority or orders of Government.

3. That slavery in any shape, or under any modification, is absolutely unlawful, as in any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

It cannot be said that such conditions were too onerous to be borne save by those who desired the opposite.

With the British troops came the Rev. J. Archbell, who settled at Durban, then the merest village, gathered together a small congregation of English folk, and built a chapel in which they might worship. Archbell had been a pioneer Missionary from the first, and as such had done excellent work. We have found him breaking fresh ground in Namaqualand and in Bechuanaland, and here again it is he who lifts the first sod where the Methodist church of Durban was to stand. Unhappily he closed his ministry under a cloud, and the cause of this is instructive, as showing how free the Missionaries were from seeking to use the opportunities which came to them in the course of their work to secure a personal advantage. Such an incident as that recorded on page 29 of the third volume of this work may serve to show how many were the temptations to do so, and especially in the acquiring of land. Estates were to be had for the merest trifle, and were certain to appreciate in value. Archbell and W. J. Davis had purchased farms in Natal, and the latter is said

to have held at one time no less than 18,000 acres. The Committee in England had their attention drawn to this, and at once took action. It was felt that in protecting the rights of the Natives the Missionaries themselves must be beyond suspicion. It was by the enforcing of this principle that the battle on behalf of the Maoris had been won, and there could be no concession made in South Africa. Archbell was allowed to retire, and Davis, on refusing to give up his landed property, was made a supernumerary, but after some years was reinstated in the working ministry. So carefully was the discipline which governs the ministry of the Church observed.

In 1847 the Rev. W. C. Holden was appointed to Durban, and began there a most fruitful ministry. For some years he was the only Christian Minister in Durban, and he speedily won the respect of those who worshipped in the little Methodist chapel, at that time the only place of worship in the town. This chapel was afterwards superseded by another built in Aliwal Street, and the older building was handed over to the Native congregation ; before this services for the Natives had been held in the open air. Holden, in spite of heavy pastoral duties among the Europeans, gave himself up heart and soul to work among the Kafirs, and in a volume written by him, to which reference will be often made in our pages, devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of the spiritual capacity of the Kafir, illustrating his thesis from his own experience. He not only fully establishes his point, but gives an account of the beginning of Christian life among the Amazulu Kafirs which is full of enthralling interest. He remained in Natal for six years, and on leaving he returned to the Grahamstown District, from which he had come to Natal.

In 1849 a request from Natal that a separate District should be formed within the area covered by that Colony, and that the Synod should be empowered to elect their own Chairman, met with a somewhat sharp rejoinder from Bishopsgate. The Secretaries were ' greatly surprised ' to find that the Methodist constitution, which assigned the election of Chairmen to the annual Conference, was so little understood in South Africa, and were of opinion that the time had not yet come for creating a separate District in Natal. It would mean an increased expenditure of the Society's funds, and it was undesirable

that small and weak Districts should be formed. The request was certainly premature and ill advised, and yet it showed a sense of the difficulty experienced in the administrative centre being so remote as Natal was from Grahamstown, and it also revealed a certain consciousness of vitality in the Church in Natal. They had not, however, long to wait, for the growth of that Church was so rapid that what was refused in 1849 was readily granted in 1855, and from the latter date Natal was recognized as a District under its own administration.

The year 1850 brought a full tide of immigration to the Natal Province. Within a few years several thousands came from England to begin the more spacious life which the Colony offered. Many of the new Colonists were devoted members of the Methodist communion, and they brought with them a moral earnestness and a readiness to undertake Christian service which proved invaluable factors in forming the tone and temper of civil life in such centres as Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The local Churches found themselves suddenly reinforced by a small army of Local Preachers and Class-leaders, and from that time the Methodist Church in Natal has grown in grace and strength until it has come to occupy its present position of commanding influence. To make any adequate acknowledgement of the Missionaries who guided its infant steps, and instructed that Church in the things of God, would require far more space than is available in this chapter of Methodist history. Such men as H. Pearce, C. Spensley, J. Gaskin, F. Mason, G. Blencowe, R. Stott, Ezra Nuttall, James Cameron, and S. E. Rowe, in addition to those already named, were Ministers of exceptional gifts, which were lavishly used for the upbuilding of the Church ; and it is to their devotion, their wisdom, and their unfailing ministry of the Spirit of Christ that the Church owes its strength to-day. Their memorial endureth for evermore, and their sufficient monument is the Church itself. They travelled far and wide ; they marked out the boundaries of Circuits, built chapels, established schools, and day after day, to Englishman and Kafir, to Dutchman and Zulu, with equal fidelity and tenderness they proclaimed the Gospel of the grace of God. When at the close of the year 1850 the Revs. Joseph Gaskin and Calvert Spensley arrived from England at Durban, they found there a Methodist community of over two hundred awaiting

their service, with a Church life fully organized along the lines familiar to all Methodists. Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Verulam were all small places, but they were on the way to become the centres of civilized life which they now are in a country over which the hordes of Chaka and Dingaan had so often swept. The first sermon preached at Verulam was preached by Mr. William Todd, a Northumbrian, and fifty years afterwards the same gentleman preached the sermon during the Jubilee services of the Church in Natal.

Into this rapidly expanding Church there now came the impulse of a remarkable personality, but to trace its development we must go back a few years in our record. When William Shaw, as Chairman, visited the Bechuana Mission he came, as we have seen, to Thaba Nchu in 1848. One of the outlying stations of that Circuit was known by the name of Mparani, and had originally been established on behalf of the Korannas. These, however, migrated, and their place was taken by Mantatees, under their chief, Sikonyele; James Allison, a young catechist, was appointed to be their Pastor. Here he laboured for several years, and in 1839, in response to the strong recommendation of the District Synod, he was recognized by the Conference in England as an assistant Missionary. His ministry in Mparani was most successful, and he exercised a great personal influence over a particularly suspicious and cruel chief. The chapel and Mission house built by Allison attracted the attention of William Shaw, who says:

> The air of neatness and comfort which immediately strikes the eye on coming in view of this place is equal, if not superior, to that exhibited by any Mission village I have yet seen in South Africa.

Allison had also established a branch of the Watson Institution for the training of Native teachers, and for the education of the sons of chiefs and other prominent Africans. In 1840 this institution was situated at Farmerfield, a new station in the Grahamstown District, but the setting up of 'branches' had caused its influence to be felt over a very wide area. In the branch establishment at Mparani Allison had gathered twenty promising young men, the son of the paramount chief being one of them. It is clear that even then the young Missionary was making full proof of his ministry.

About this time frequent requests were being made by the chief of the Baraputsi—a tribe occupying the country west of Delagoa Bay, and nearly three hundred miles from Mparani —for a Missionary to be sent to instruct his people, and Shaw was greatly attracted by the prospect of beginning work in that region, considering that a strong station in the locality would prevent the Portuguese from obtaining the slaves which they still sought in the hinterland of Delagoa Bay. Such a station would also mark a long link in his ' chain.' He decided to send Allison, and in 1846 the latter began work at Mahamba —a place of which we shall hear again—within the borders of Swaziland. Success was immediate, but unhappily Allison was obliged to abandon a work of peculiar promise owing to trouble that arose between two rival chiefs, and he left Swaziland for Natal. He brought with him a number of converts, and a settlement was made at Indaleni. For awhile all went well, but difficulties arose between Allison and the Committee in England. He withdrew from the Methodist Church and set up an independent Mission at Edendale. Happily time brought at least a partial healing of the breach, and though Allison never resumed his former connexion with the Methodist Church, Edendale was handed over to the Society in 1861. When at last Allison died his body was very properly laid to rest in the plot of ground reserved for Wesleyan Ministers in the cemetery of Maritzburg.

From the ministry of this Missionary there has followed a series of events which have profoundly affected our Mission throughout the whole of South Africa. Among the men who followed him from Mahamba were some who became Ministers of Christ, and most efficient in their ministry. One of these now demands our special attention. Daniel Msimang proved himself worthy to be admitted into the ranks of the Ministry, and he was duly ordained to that high office. Thirty-five years from the time of his leaving Mahamba with his beloved teacher he returned to that station to work among his own people, and it was here that he was met by the Rev. Owen Watkins, as will presently be related.

In 1884 there appears in the report of the Transvaal District the entry ' The Swaziland Mission,' and nine members were reported as having joined the Church. Six years after there

were two stations in Swaziland, with a total membership of 354, while in the Centenary year the numbers had increased to 783, with 731 on trial for membership. Nor was this the only fruit of Allison's ministry. In 1865, under the initiative of a group of exceptionally able Africans in Edendale, a great extension of the Christian community took place to the north of Natal. These men became the proprietors of a considerable tract of fruitful land at Driefontein, on the Klip River, north of Ladysmith, where they prospered exceedingly. Their devotion to Christ was as marked as their practical efficiency, and Local Preachers from among them carried the Gospel, which had brought them both light and power, into the surrounding country, and far into Zululand. From Driefontein the good work spread to Jonono's Kop, where in 1882 a new Circuit was formed, and thence to Telapi, Dundee, and Evansdale. Presently there were Mission stations both in Zululand and in the Transvaal. Truly, in spite of the cloud that fell upon his later ministry, Allison must be held in honour for a work which brought the greatest and most rapid extension of the Church among the Native tribes of Natal. There was a further development of which mention must be made. In 1874 a wave of new life flowed over the Christian Church at Jonono's Kop, and under its influence a strong missionary feeling was made manifest in the Native Church. The name 'Unzondelelo' was coined to express at once the 'even strong desire' and the 'calmly fervent zeal' of Charles Wesley's great missionary hymn. Up to that time the development of a Native ministry had been slow, if indeed it can be said to have existed at all, and these men could not wait upon the slowly moving organization of the Church. They set themselves to provide funds for a Native ministry, and presently sent an agent to work among the heathen in the neighbourhood of Jonono's Kop. The European Missionaries took alarm at this irregular proceeding, and began to look upon the movement with suspicion, and even with resentment. There are always those who would restrain the unconventional outburst of new and vigorous life. It seemed at one time as though this movement might lead to a deplorable loss to the Church of some of its most devoted members. A fine statement by Daniel Msimang is recorded by Whiteside[1] which not only

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 402.

accounts for the movement, but also reveals the true Christian passion of the man :

> We heard the cries of those who want to be saved. From every side came testimony as to the sad state of the Natives all over the land. We felt that we ought to send people to them that their sins might be taken away. . . . The Ministers asked us if we wanted a Native training institution. Our reply was, ' We know nothing about an institution. We have a wound in our hearts. What can we do to help our people to the Gospel ? '

The last two sentences reveal the climax of the Christian experience. They indicate a real fellowship in the sufferings of Christ. Happily for the Church in Natal the leaders of the movement met the Missionaries in conference. Suspicions were removed, and misapprehensions taken away. It was recognized that the movement was of God, and that it had the promise of a fuller life in Christ. It was not difficult to bring such organization as had been attempted within the compass of Methodist institutions. The agents of the Unzondelelo readily accepted the control of the District Synod. The movement was designated ' The Wesleyan Native Home Mission,' and its affairs were entrusted to a Committee of which the Native members outnumbered the European by two to one. It is obvious that so long as the spirit which animated Daniel Msimang and Nathaniel Matebule remains in the Mission its possibilities in the service of Christ are illimitable.

In March, 1856, William Shaw left Africa for England. The year before, his wife, the truest help-meet that ever strengthened and cheered the heart of a husband, died and was buried in Grahamstown. Later in that year Mr. Shaw went on what was to be his last official journey to the Mission stations he had done so much to establish, and a few months after his return he left the scene of his memorable service. Arrived in England, he still continued to serve Africa in the councils of the Church, but in 1860 he came to the determination that he would not return to Africa. His work there had been fully done. For some years he served in Circuits in England, and everywhere he secured the love and respect of those to whom he ministered. In 1865 the Wesleyan Church bestowed upon him the highest honour to which any Minister of that

Church can attain in making him the President of the Conference, an appointment which was received with peculiar gratification in South Africa. In 1869 he retired from the active work of the Church, and in 1872 the call came which comes to all. To none more ready to obey could that summons come. He had fulfilled his vocation. To him more than to any other man does South Africa owe its passing from a condition of barbarism into the order and security of a civilized life, and it was through his ministry to White and Black with equal tenderness and devotion that hundreds of persons entered upon a new life in Christ. It was a great captain of the King's armies that passed to render his account, ' and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.'

# III

## THE CITY THAT HATH FOUNDATIONS

Hindu Labour—Grahamstown—Queenstown—Clarkebury—Pondoland—Thaba Nchu—Kimberley—Cape Town—The Passing of Barnabas Shaw—Education in South Africa—Premonitions of the South African Conference—John Kilner's Visit—Independent Administration—Epilogue.

We have now come to a point in the history of the Wesleyan Church in South Africa in which more stable features in its service are to be found. It is true that the movement in districts not yet evangelized continued, and that in certain localities the work was still in an experimental stage, but in most of the stations, whose formation we have hitherto followed, the chief characteristic of the work was of the nature of edification, as the Ministers, both clerical and lay, sought to build up believers in their most precious faith. Presently it will be our happy task to visit each of these, and to see how far the Church had progressed by the time that it entered upon its more independent existence, and learned the lessons of responsible administration. Before we do that, however, there is one feature of the general life of the Colony in Natal which challenges attention, as being fraught with momentous issues, not only for the Church at work in that country, but for the whole of South Africa, and indeed for the British Commonwealth of Nations.

With the influx of British settlers agricultural and other industries were speedily established. The land was found to be suitable for the cultivation of both cotton and the sugar-cane, and the need of labour to work the plantations springing up in all directions at once made itself felt. Potential labour there was in abundance, but the African pays a heavy price for the productivity of the soil of his native country in this, that it has induced in him a spirit of indolence. Why work when with the minimum of toil on the part of his women a sufficiency of food is so easily obtained? It was found impossible to find the labour required in the indigenous

population. If it was to be obtained it was necessary to seek it elsewhere, and the planter turned his eyes to India. Some thousands of Indian labourers were brought to Natal, and it was expected that, having served the time agreed upon, they would return to India, while others from the same country took their place. But this calculation was upset by the fact that the Hindu for the most part preferred to remain, and presently the Colonists became aware of the presence in their midst of a community alien in sentiment and habit of thought, and a menace to both physical and moral health. Not only so, but in a little while the Hindu began to trade, and as their habits of life did not entail the same expense as did those of European traders, they easily outbid the latter, whose commercial interests were thus imperilled. The political and religious implications were no less apparent and serious. As time went on the Hindu began to demand the privilege of the franchise, while the rigidity of caste regulations, and the strong conservative bias which characterize the Hindu in his Native country, were not less manifest when he migrated to Africa. He brought with him the whole religious and social atmosphere of Hinduism, and the Missionary in Africa, with no knowledge of the vernacular spoken by these people, and unfamiliar with the philosophical outlook of the humblest labourer, found himself face to face with an apparently insoluble problem, as he recognized that to these, too, he was 'debtor.' The difficulty of conveying religious truth to their minds was immensely increased by the two facts that, being recruited from different parts of India, different languages were spoken by the several tribes, and that they were at first scattered over plantations far apart. In the West India Islands, in British Guiana, and in Fiji[1] precisely the same difficulty has been felt, and both the Government and the Church are seriously and increasingly embarrassed by the racial, industrial, and religious problems thus set up.

Now where the issue of such questions is one of racial pride and prejudice, the course of time may be trusted to bring relief. For, whatever may have been the superiority of the white in comparison with the coloured races, education and the whole trend of life under civilized conditions diminish that difference with every year that passes, and it is impossible

[1] See Vol. II., pp. 273 and 417., Vol. III., p. 466.

now to deny with justice that intellectually the coloured races are rapidly approximating to the white. The economic argument can scarcely be defended. If by his more frugal habits and simpler life, as well as by his greater industry, the Hindu trader competes successfully with the British, the latter must accept the consequences. To repress by legislation the alien trader in order to secure a better market for oneself, and to refuse both social and political status to those who outbid the white man in fair competition, is a course which has only to be clearly defined to meet with due condemnation. Competition in trade is accepted as a matter of course as between individuals of the same nationality, and if it is resented when the competitor is of a different race, it at once becomes evident that the basal objection is racial rather than economic. As such the Christian Missionary will find himself unable to tolerate it. Hygienic and eugenic arguments have more to be said in their favour. Certain classes of Hindus accept regulations of health in their daily life which make them to be undesirable neighbours. But it should be possible to devise legislation in these matters, with no more or less than equal stringency upon both White and Coloured, which would remove the difficulty. As things are at present the denial of the franchise to Indian settlers, and the assimilation of their treatment to that of the lowest and most degraded Natives, create a feeling of injustice which both in India and in Africa may lead to disastrous consequences. But, whatever the social and political aspects of the question may be, the Missionary is concerned mostly with the matter of his own relation to such persons, in view of the religious obligation which rests upon him. He shares with his brethren in India the burden of winning these also for Christ. The citadel which he would enter seems to him all but impregnable. It seems impossible even to approach it. The conquest of the African heart through Christ and for Christ is easy, but the heart of the Hindu is only to be won by the long and arduous sapping of a position entrenched by social and intellectual systems, which have maintained the unity of Hinduism through many centuries, in spite of inherent incongruities and mutually exclusive axioms. Missionaries to Hindus in Africa will have eventually to follow the methods which their brethren in India have found effective only after many disappointments

and many costly and futile experiments. It was but natural that the Missionaries in Natal should turn to the East to seek for help in evangelizing their Hindu neighbours, and in 1862 the Rev. Ralph Stott, who had served as a Missionary in Ceylon for eighteen years, arrived in Natal to begin a Mission to these people. We have already indicated the conditions under which such work had to be done; it is not therefore surprising to find that the numerical results were small. In 1883, when the first South African Conference was held, only thirty-eight members were returned as belonging to this class. But in Africa, as in India, numerical returns are least instructive as indicating the extent to which the work done has been successful, and not a few Hindus have returned to India from Natal to bear their witness for the Christ whom they found there.[1]

In the first half of the nineteenth century the most rapid development of the Methodist Church in South Africa was to to be found in Kaffraria, and we have indicated that development up to the present in following the line of William Shaw's chain of stations from Salem to Natal. But it must not be supposed that there was no movement elsewhere during those thirty years; and we now propose to retrace our steps to Grahamstown, with the important off-set of Queenstown, until we return to Cape Town, with its Methodist extensions into Bechuanaland and the Orange River Free State.

In 1830 William Shaw was in Grahamstown, having returned from Kaffraria the previous year. In 1831 Wesley Chapel was opened for worship in this city. It was regarded with both pride and affection by those who worshipped within its walls, so great an improvement was it upon 'The Yellow Chapel,' which had up to that time been their spiritual home. But fifteen years after Wesley Chapel itself had become too small for its congregation, and the foundation stone of the present 'Commemoration Church' was laid by Mrs. Shaw. The Kafir wars of the years which followed precluded any attempt that might have been made to proceed with the building, and it was not until 1850 that William Shaw preached the first sermon in the completed church. Wesley Chapel was used at first for the Kafir congregation, but afterwards it

[1] The writer would instance the case of one of these men whose son became a valued and efficient teacher of the High School in Mysore City, S. India, and a strength to the Christian Church in that city.

was used as a school. Though Salem will always be remembered as the scene of William Shaw's earliest ministry, Grahamstown rapidly became the more important town. As such it was made the centre of the Methodist District, and many Ministers came here to spend the quiet evening of life after the arduous labour of their service. Important schools for boys and girls have been erected in this town, and Methodism has been an important factor in the civic and political life. Many prominent members of the Legislative Council and of the House of Assembly have been as earnest and devoted in their Church as they have been able administrators of public affairs.

Many Circuits have grown up around Grahamstown since the day when William Shaw preached in the house of Sergeant Lucas, and in nearly every one of these a handsome church and a substantial parsonage declare the place which Methodism holds in the devotion of her children. But these do not stand alone. The Methodist Church has never lost the missionary spirit which has governed it from the first, and in the locations allotted to Kafirs and Hottentots and other tribes are to be seen their own churches and schools. The work of providing for the spiritual life of the black man is held in equal honour with that of ministering to the white.

Work was begun at Bathurst in 1830, and at Port Elizabeth in the same year. Uitenhage saw the coming of Methodism into its midst in 1839, and in the following year the Methodist Missionary came to Cradock. Services were held in Somerset East as early as 1821, but it was not until 1847 that any very great progress was made. Under the ministry of the Rev. J. Edwards it became the centre of a far-extended Circuit. Graaf Reinet was occupied in 1865, and after many changes of fortune Methodism has established itself in the important town of Middelburg. The story of the inception and development of the work in each of these towns is full of the truest romance, and charged with the devotion of men and women. They realized in themselves the work of faith, the patience of hope, and the labour of love, and these great spiritual powers have wrought to make the Methodist Church in South Africa what, by the blessing of God, it has become.

On the coast-line between Port Elizabeth and Pondoland stands the town of East London, the terminus of a railway

running north to Bloemfontein. In 1859 it was an insignificant town, though as early as 1848 Methodist services were held in a private house by the Missionary stationed at King William's Town. With the coming of the railway and the opening of the harbour, East London soon became a prosperous town. Between the railway and the borders of Pondoland lies a tract of country occupied for the most part by the Tembu tribe. Over this area the tide of war ebbed and flowed for many years. The Methodists had a station at Lesseyton, and the Tembus in that neighbourhood, under the influence of their spiritual guides and teachers, remained faithful to the British. After the war it was decided to make it 'a buffer state' between the warlike tribes farther north and the British settlers in and around Grahamstown. Farmers, pledged to combine for defence if called upon, received allotments of land, and the loyal Tembus had a considerable tract of fertile country, watered by the Black Kei River, allotted to them. The whole district was known as 'Tembuland.' The centre of this district was Queenstown, lying between the Stormberg and the Amatola ranges of mountains, and during the administration of Sir George Cathcart it was decided to develop what was then an insignificant hamlet and to make it the strategic centre, as it was already the geographical centre, of the country. Wesleyan Missionaries were early on the ground, and in 1854 a chapel was built and opened for worship. It was at that time the only place of worship in the town, and the Rev. H. H. Dugmore was the first Minister appointed. A larger chapel was built in 1861, and a still larger one in 1881, at which time the Rev. F. Lamplough was the Minister in charge. During Lamplough's pastorate an important addition was made in the establishment of a book-room, but this was afterwards transferred to Cape Town. Educational efforts were less successful than this last, and the final result, after many efforts, has been a school for girls, bearing the familiar name of Queenswood. Dugmore returned to Queenstown after a long, arduous, and most fruitful ministry, and here he spent the last twenty-one years of his life, giving himself up to literary work. He had a considerable gift in poetry, and one-third of the hymns in the Kafir hymn-book are of his composing. He was greatly esteemed and beloved by all who knew him.

Around this centre there grew up a number of 'Circuits,'

some of them intended to meet the spiritual needs of farmers scattered over a large area, and others in important centres such as Kingstown and East London. In these towns large and beautiful chapels were erected. As in other places, the Natives were not forgotten. Both Black and White shared in the inexhaustible riches of the grace of God, and in the different locations chapels for the Native congregations were also built.

Between Pondoland and the Basuto country lies an area known as Griqualand East. It was allotted to the Griqua tribe which, under their chief, Adam Kok, had migrated hither from the Orange Free State. This tribe has been the victim, morally and spiritually, of intemperance. The traffic in drink has been its ruin, and though repeated efforts have been made by different Missionaries to reclaim the people for Christ, the measure of success attained cannot be compared with that in other localities. Queenstown became a separate District in 1863 under William Shepstone, and several of the stations established by William Shaw have been incorporated in this District, Butterworth, Mount Coke, and Kamastone appearing in its list of Circuits. Immediately before the establishment of a South African Conference there were 39 Missionaries and Assistants in the District, with no less than 307 Lay Preachers. There were 4,500 members in the Church, with over 2,000 on trial for membership.

A further off-set from this District took place when the country lying farther east, and reaching up to the borders of Natal, was mapped out as forming the Clarkebury District. In this were included the remainder of Shaw's stations. Clarkebury, Buntingville, Shawbury, and Palmerton are all names which have appeared on former pages of this record. Clarkebury, though officially declared separate as a District in 1863, was really separated in 1875. In 1883 the District contained 26 Missionaries and assistants, with 31 chapels and 152 other preaching-places. The membership in that year was 2,188, with 1,200 on trial. A prominent feature of this District was that of industrial schools established at Clarkebury and other stations.

In 1865 the station at Morley was removed to another site about fourteen miles from the original locality. The latter had proved unhealthy, and in consequence there was constant

migration on the part of the Natives, making it impossible to maintain consecutive work on their behalf. Another station commemorating the name of an honoured secretary in England was Osborn. This was founded later than Buntingville and Palmerton, but by the year 1887 it had far surpassed them. In all these stations there was manifested a kindly, paternal care for the people, and wise counsel was always ready to guide and direct the chiefs at critical moments, so that outlying Mission stations became in a very real sense bulwarks of empire, protecting in the best possible way the British Colonists and the more peaceful tribes within the Colony. Not infrequently Missionaries received the thanks of the Government for their intervention when it seemed likely that the tribes might once again begin the wars which had proved so disastrous. In this connexion a letter written by Mr. T. L. Phipson to a friend in Ireland may well be cited. Mr. Phipson had accompanied the Government Secretary for Native Affairs on a Commission in regard to certain matters on the border of the Colony, and he thus concludes his letter :

> Were I to enumerate all the instances that have come under my personal notice as to the great good resulting from missionary labours I could fill reams of foolscap. I will content myself by remarking in conclusion that I am convinced that the Missionaries are the true pioneers of religion and civilization, and that the Cape would never have been the flourishing Colony which it now undoubtedly is were it not for the early exertions of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. There are those, of course, who decry and run down their efforts, but the motives of these people are easily fathomed ; self-interest and self-gain lie at the bottom, and form the groundwork of all adverse remarks and prejudicial endeavours. The canteen-keepers, and those who support the canteens, are the chief revilers ; for the Missionaries have ever waged, and will ever wage, war against this class. The misery and desolation wrought by these harpies is only known to those who have been eye-witnesses of their rapacity.

Equally pertinent is the letter written by the Rev. Samuel Hardey, Chairman of the Cape Town District, in 1870 :

> In many respects the Missions in Kafirland are of great importance. They are bulwarks to the Colony ; they are towers of strength against invading foes, and would effectually check any spirit of insubordination that might arise in regions beyond. But, better still, they have a

higher, because a moral, power which they exert very extensively over the surrounding masses of heathenism, and on many minds we believe the fear of God is greater than the fear of man. The respect which the heathen show to Christian teachers; the readiness which they evince, when in trouble, to have the advice of the Missionaries; and the good understanding which exists among all classes of heathen with their Christian neighbours, is more important and valuable than any amount of political influence that you can bring to bear upon them.

The alternative to Christian influence is well illustrated by an incident related by Peter Hargreaves. A young chief had been placed under Hargreaves' care, and on assuming the chieftainship wished to become a Christian. 'The old man of the great place opposed the idea most vehemently, and threw all sorts of objections in the way. The result was that he yielded at last, with the significant declaration: "You have resolved to make a heathen of me; I will show you how far heathenism will carry me." This he has done with a vengeance, for, young as he is, he has gained a character for outrageous cruelty that has eclipsed the fame of all the chiefs of Kafirland.'

Palmerton is a station in Pondoland, and the Pondos have been, when compared with other South African tribes, slow in responding to the appeal of the Gospel. One of the causes of this has been found in the prevalence of the drinking habit in this tribe. It is significant that where this has prevailed the progress of the Church has been slow. In 1875 the Rev. Clement Johns, the first Native Minister to be ordained in Natal, was appointed to Palmerton, but he never arrived there. On his way to his appointment he was struck by lightning and died. Different Missionaries, both European and African, have attempted to evangelize the Pondos, but the immoral habits of the people, directly fostered by the use of intoxicating liquor, has always been antagonistic to their efforts. While their chief, Faku, was alive, and the Rev. T. Jenkins, known as 'the Apostle to the Pondos,' was in their midst, there seemed to be a greater promise of result among them, but when these two leaders were taken away they rapidly degenerated into a turbulent tribe, continually at war with their neighbours, and morally corrupt. During the ministry of the Rev. P. Hargreaves the station of Emfundisweni, which had been established by Jenkins, saw

a more hopeful work among these people. The Church grew steadily, and a much-desired moral force came into its life.

In 1877 the Rev. F. Mason, a missionary specially honoured and beloved in Natal, visited Pondoland, and speaks of two great needs in the Church at that time. These were evangelism and education. The former, he says, was being carried on, though more might be done, but educational efforts had been very limited, in spite of the fact that there had been for many years an increasing desire for its extension. The attention of the Women's Auxiliary in England had been called to this matter, and within a couple of years after they had begun to send out Missionaries no fewer than five had been sent to South Africa. Three of these were appointed to take up work in schools for the children of British settlers, and two others were appointed to industrial schools for Natives. In 1869 Miss Charlotte E. Beauchamp was sent to begin work among the Pondos, and a school was opened at Edendale, half way between Emfundisweni and Maritzburg, in Natal. But the place was ill chosen, as there was no great number of Natives in that locality, and Mason considered that the school might with advantage be moved to some other centre. Accordingly we find Miss Beauchamp at work in Emfundisweni in 1878. She continued to work in South Africa for no less than twenty-seven years. When the Methodist Church in South Africa became independent of the parent Church in England further appointments of Missionaries by the Women's Auxiliary ceased to be made. The Rev. Theophilus Chubb, whose name is still honoured in Grahamstown, where he was most successful in educational work, and who afterwards became Governor of the training institution at Healdtown, and later still of the Industrial school at Clarkebury, was of opinion that no lasting result of any moment would be effected among the Pondos unless a vigorous educational policy was adopted on their behalf. But it proved most difficult to find men suitable for such work who were willing to live in Pondoland, and no great development in this direction took place before the year 1883. At that time there were nearly 200 members at Emfundisweni, and this number has since greatly increased. The annexation of Pondoland by the Cape Government, which took place in 1894,

has also led to better government and more settled habits of life.

We left Archbell and Edwards at Thaba Nchu shepherding the Barolongs, with Griquas at Seshuani, Korannas at Mpukane, and Mantatees at Mparani. We must now leave Pondoland, cross the Orange River, and see how they have prospered in the years that have elapsed. For a long time there was a series of disappointments. The Griquas became dissatisfied with their location, and left it for what seemed to them a more favourable country. In 1859, at which time the financial situation in England was causing anxiety, instructions were received from the Committee to the effect that all Missionaries from the subordinate stations just mentioned were to be withdrawn. With sad hearts the men obeyed. It seemed as though the heavy labour they had so cheerfully accepted was all thrown away. Then the Boers, to whom the Orange Free State had been handed over, began to encroach upon the territory of the Basutos, and in 1867 the latter lost the tract of land lying between the Caledon and Orange Rivers, where most of our stations were situated. They did not lose more only because the British declared a Protectorate over the rest of Basutoland. The Dutch showed scant regard for Mission property, and most of our stations ceased to exist. A hold was still kept, however, on Thaba Nchu, and considerable development followed; the establishment of a printing-press was a special feature of the growing Church. Some of the Barolongs removed to Moshaneng, north of Mafeking, where we shall meet them again; and, though the two places were three hundred miles apart, the Missionaries at Thaba Nchu visited and instructed them for a considerable period in each year. Thaba Nchu was finally annexed by the Orange Free State in 1882, with the result that most of the Barolongs migrated to Bechuanaland, and the population of Thaba Nchu dropped from 10,000 to less than 2,000. When the South African Conference was formed in 1883 there were only 691 members returned as still remaining in what was once a most prosperous and promising Mission. But the work done at Thaba Nchu was not lost; its effect was to be seen in stations far removed.

Meantime the Methodist Church began to appear in other centres north of the Orange River. A small Native Church

was gathered together at Bloemfontein in 1851, but no great increase was reported until the sixties. With the coming to Bloemfontein of the Rev. James Scott in 1871 Methodism began to be recognized as fairly established in that town. Fauresmith (1857) and Kronstadt (1874) were also occupied by Wesleyan Missionaries. Heilbron, Ficksburg, Harrismith, and Bethlehem were subsequently adopted as Circuit towns, and Missionaries took up work in each of these. In 1864 it was decided to make a new District by incorporating the stations north of the Orange River with a few stations on the south. These last were taken from the Grahamstown District, and, being in the British Colony, they were not exposed to the many vicissitudes and dislocations incidental to stations in the Orange Free State. Such stations were Wittebergen, Burghersdorp, Aliwal North, Colesberg, and Bensonvale.

These contributed an element of strength to the newly formed District. The Rev. Richard Impey, then residing at Colesberg, was made Chairman and General Superintendent. Mr. Impey had been a devoted Missionary of great personal charm, and was greatly respected. In 1878, owing to a change in his doctrinal views, he withdrew from the ministry, to the great regret of his brethren, and his resignation was followed by that of his son. When the new District was formed there were 863 fully accredited members in the different Circuits. The largest number of these was found at Thaba Nchu. Within the following decade the District showed a most encouraging growth, due largely to developments at Kimberley. These led to an increased traffic and general movement of the population throughout the whole surrounding country, but the increase was more on the side of the Native population than on that of the European. The number at Thaba Nchu had more than doubled, and the total number in the District had risen from 863 to 2,482. The Church at Bloemfontein was still by far the weakest.[1]

In 1870 the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, on the western boundary of this State, led to a change which profoundly affected both the civic and religious situation throughout

[1] It is interesting to note that this remarkable growth has continued up to the present. In 1919 there were no less than forty-two Circuits in the District, and many of these show a formidable list of stations in which Evangelists were at work. There were 2,096 English members and more than 22,700 native members. The returns from Bloemfontein under both heads were the highest of all except that in the Native membership Thaba Nchu still held the highest place.

the whole country. Thousands of men left their settled occupations and joined in the scramble for the wealth which the discovery of a single stone might bring them. Some of these were Wesleyans, and the Rev. B. S. H. Impey was appointed to be their pastor. With the assistance of Local Preachers every effort was made to secure that the claims of religion were not forgotten in the wild excitement and feverish quest of those days. A small chapel was at once erected, followed shortly after by a larger one, in which the Rev. James Calvert ministered during the time he was appointed to this Circuit.[1] With the amalgamation of the mining companies, effected largely by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, conditions of life became somewhat stabilized, and Kimberley rapidly began to exhibit all the features of a permanent and well-organized township. Substantial buildings were put up, and among these was Wesley Chapel, erected in 1886 in place of the wood and iron chapel which had been used by our people before that date.

The development of the mines led to an enormous increase in the use of Native labour. From every part of South Africa crowds of Natives were enlisted for the recovery of the precious stones, and not a few of these were men who had already been attached to one or other of our Mission stations. The pastoral care of these became at once a pressing claim upon the Missionaries. The institution of indentured labour and 'the Compound System' arose from the need of exercising some sort of discipline over the crowds of Africans thus gathered together. It was open to damaging criticism on many counts. The denizens of these Compounds were restricted in their movements, as they were not allowed to reside outside the enclosure, and the idea of enforced labour is at once suggested. The grouping together of large numbers of men separated from their wives and children is another unhappy feature of the system, and it is scarcely to be wondered at that immorality should appear among men living under such conditions. On the other hand, the advocates of the system claim that the Native labourer is protected from temptations which would inevitably assail him in the canteens, and it is almost certain that he would be less likely to live an immoral life than if he had freedom of access to others outside. Within

[1] See Vol. III., p. 392, and infra, p. 331.

the Compounds provision is made for all his reasonable wants ; the pay he receives is good and is eagerly sought. When the period during which he contracted to serve has come to an end, he often returns to his kraal in comparative wealth.

But whatever may be said for or against the system, to the Missionary it undoubtedly offered a great opportunity. He found his congregation within easy reach, and drawn from remote regions which he could scarcely have hoped to visit. Many an African has returned to his tribe bearing with him the seeds of Christian truth which were sown in mind and heart while he served in the Compounds of Kimberley, and the Missionary has often found the Christian Church awaiting his arrival where its presence was never suspected. The Rev. J. S. Morris, who took up the work of preaching in the Compounds of Kimberley, was able to continue this work for fifteen years, and it is impossible to measure the results of his great and gracious ministry.

But though we have done scanty justice to either the opportunities for Christian service presented by such a town as Kimberley, or to the results actually attained, we must now return to the city in which Methodism first appeared in South Africa. When we broke off our consideration of the progress of events at Cape Town we had come to the year 1837, in which year Barnabas Shaw had returned to England. The Rev. T. L. Hodgson succeeded him as Chairman of the District, but he found great opposition from the Dutch, who resented the efforts made by the Wesleyans to evangelize the Natives and the coloured people in the Colony. Services held on behalf of the latter in the open air became the occasion of violence and riot. A chapel for the use of this class of the population was built in Sydney Street, but though large congregations showed an appreciation of the efforts made on their behalf, the work was continually hampered by certain ' fellows of the baser sort.' A considerable number of Malays, brought there by the Dutch from their eastern colonies, were at that time in Cape Town. These were mostly Muhammadan in religion, and the characteristic resentment of the Moslem appeared as soon as the Missionaries sought to evangelize the Malays or the coloured folk, who were ready to accept the Moslem religion for want of any higher faith. Thus opposed by both Dutch and Malay, the work among the

Natives presented difficulties to the Missionaries which were not met elsewhere.

If we omit for the moment the Namaqualand Mission, there were in 1840 only two stations in the Cape Town District. These were Cape Town itself with Wynberg attached to it, and Somerset, and the total number of members in the whole District was only 276. In 1850 the number had risen to 1,539. By that time Barnabas Shaw had returned to the Cape, but on the death of the Rev. T. L. Hodgson in 1849 the Rev. W. Moister[1] was appointed Chairman. Shaw, being unable to take up again the arduous work of his earlier ministry, was put in charge of the Stellenbosch Circuit. Matthew Godman,[2] Joseph Tindall, and Benjamin Ridsdale are names which now appear in the records of the Church at Cape Town, and each of these worthily fulfilled his vocation. During the decade which followed, the Mission in Damaraland, and that established at the cost of so much suffering among the Namaquas, were, under stress of financial difficulties in England, abandoned, as we have seen. In consequence of this retrenchment the returns for 1867 show a decrease both in the number of Missionaries and in the number of Church members. This was a sad blow to those who were then just beginning to reap the harvest of former service. The giving up of the work among the Namaquas north of the Orange River, for whom William Threlfall and Jacob Links had laid down their lives, was specially grievous to the Methodist of the Cape.

In 1857 Barnabas Shaw laid down the honourable burden of laborious days. He had retired a few years before to Mowbray, but the hardships so cheerfully accepted in the earlier years of his ministry had told upon his constitution, and it was no long evening that he spent in his little home at Mowbray. His simplicity, his meekness, and his love for all men in Christ were Christian graces added to a mind quick to see the opportunity for service, and a loyalty that never faltered in accepting it. His name remains, with that of his illustrious namesake in Kaffraria, as that of one who was wholly consecrated to the service which he found in South Africa. He died full of years, and honoured and beloved by all who knew him.

In 1875 a great effort was made to secure a more worthy

[1] See Vol. II., p. 345. [2] See p. 101.

place of worship in Cape Town, dear though the old chapel in Burg Street was to many who worshipped there. The Metropolitan Church was the result of this endeavour, and through the generous gifts of largehearted Methodists in Cape Town it was opened for public worship in 1879. The Rev. S. Hardey, to whom the inception of this scheme was due, died before its completion. The church is both substantial and elegant, and remains to this day a worthy memorial of those who built it. The first Minister to this church was the Rev. J. Smith Spencer, who speedily acquired a commanding influence, not only in the Church, but also in the community outside it. He was an example of that rare combination—an orator and a most efficient business man. Considerable attention was paid at this time to the needs of the coloured people. A church was built for them in 1883, and large congregations gathered there from the first. It is to be noticed that in the latest report to hand when this chapter was being written—that of 1918—the number of members drawn from this class of the community far outnumbers that of both the English and the Native. While in the year mentioned there were in this District 1,911 English and 591 Native members, there were nearly 4,000 coloured members.

In each of the Circuits of this District there was, up to 1883, a slow but steady increase. In each beautiful chapels have been erected for both English and Natives, and while the numerical returns do not approach those of the other Districts, the hold of Methodism in the Cape Town District has continually improved, while the devotion of the Methodist laity to their Church is equal to that which is to be found anywhere. In outlook, in generosity, and in spiritual force and fervour, they reveal characteristics which would rejoice the hearts of those who built up this Church in the face of great opposition, and at the cost of untold privation and hardship. The statistics of the District in 1883 were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Missionaries and Assistants | 15 |
| Chapels | 26 |
| Local Preachers | 110 |
| Members | 1,932 |
| Children in the Schools | 3,354 |

Khamiesberg, the scene of Barnabas Shaw's first missionary

enterprise, had 180 members in the Circuit. Happily this station, although so distant from Cape Town, and so difficult of access, was not handed over like the rest of the stations in Namaqualand to another Society, but still remains a memorial of the earliest service of the Methodist Church in South Africa. The discovery of copper in the neighbourhood led to the opening of mines at O'okiep and Concordia, and Cornish miners were soon in evidence. It is almost needless to say that these included not a few members of the Wesleyan Church, and the Missionaries at Lilyfontein visited them and held services whenever it was possible to do so. After a while the companies working these mines offered to make grants in aid of religious work among their employés, and this enabled the Cape Town District to appoint Ministers to serve both at Ookiep and Concordia.

References have been made in the course of this survey of the Methodist Church in South Africa to the different forms of educational work attempted by the Missionaries in the earlier days of the Mission. But we must now attempt a more comprehensive view of these efforts throughout the whole field. We need not excuse ourselves for some measure of repetition in doing this, for it is now fully recognized that education is an essential form of service in all parts of Africa, and the Church which ignores or neglects this part of its manifold service compromises its future.

All Missionary Societies look forward to the time when the infant Churches which they regard with such tender solicitude and serve with such zeal and devotion will no longer need their parental care. They work towards maturity in those they serve; they look for the 'full-grown man, the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.' They await the day when the Church will be able to stand alone, self-administered, instructed by an indigenous ministry, and making its contribution to that interpretation of Christ in which all nations and peoples and tongues will share. But even before that consummation is realized they know that their only chance, humanly speaking, of leavening the mass of surrounding heathenism lies in their securing the intelligent co-operation of Native teachers and Preachers who will be Missionaries to their own countrymen. Education thus becomes an essential feature in missionary operations, and those who would place

evangelism in a category which excludes the service of the teacher, or look upon the two methods as mutually antagonistic, are raising an issue which is false, and which would be fatal if it ever received universal acceptance in the Church. The teacher and the Preacher are fellow labourers in the Gospel. They are both included in the higher synthesis of the Christian ministry.

But educational missionary work has been strangely neglected in Africa both in the west and in the south. It has not until quite recently been accepted as an essential element in that work. There has been no definite policy concerning it, or, if there has, it has not been strictly enforced by the Executive in England, or fully observed by the Missionary on the field. There have been many causes which have led to this neglect. The African, with his emotional nature, and with a mind which is markedly—and often delightfully—childlike, was easily moved by the appeal of the Gospel. He readily responded to such an appeal, and, when once a hearing had been secured, it was comparatively easy to form a congregation and then a Church. That Church, it is true, might exhibit Christian graces in the lives of its members over which any Missionary would rejoice; and if his service ended in this, he may be excused if he remains content with such fruit to his ministry. If, however, his vision extends beyond his immediate surroundings, and if it contemplates 'to-morrow' as well as 'to-day,' he will be the last person to seek or to accept excuse. It may be, however, that unconsciously some have yielded to the temptation to rest content with the immediate and easily gathered fruit.

A far more powerful cause is to be found in the conditions under which Missionaries have been compelled to serve in Africa. In that country there are no Circuit boundaries; and when we consider the enormous distances which they had to traverse in order to reach the scattered portions of their flocks, and when we remember that in very many instances the Missionary was alone in his station, it is easy to see that anything like regular and efficient work in the school was quite impossible. It is infinitely to the credit of the Missionaries as a class that they accomplished as much as they did in this direction. For it must not be supposed that they were blind to the necessity of this branch of their work. In

most cases some attempt was made. The elements of education were given. Their converts were taught to read. The Christian Scriptures were made available in the language of the people, and the printing-press was an early institution in most Mission Districts. Sunday schools were at once established, and in many instances they proved to be the means by which African Ministers received their first impulse towards a most efficient ministry. But when one rejoices most over such results his rejoicing is tempered by the reflection that infinitely more might have been accomplished from the first, if there had been a definite educational policy laid down for our African Missions, and if such a policy had been strictly observed.

Yet another cause is to be found in the African himself. For a long time he was indifferent to all education. His children were useful to him in many ways, and he saw no reason why he should forgo the help they gave in the home or the field in order that they might receive an education the advantages of which were quite outside the range of his vision.

But, whatever the cause may have been, the fact remains as it stands recorded, that 'for nearly half a century after the establishment of Missions in Kafirland there were few day schools for the secular education of the Natives.'[1] There were no trained teachers, and until 1867, when the institution at Healdtown was established, there was no school for training Wesleyan teachers in South Africa. The need of providing for the sons and daughters of the Colonists was early acknowledged, and attempts were made to meet it. But none of these were persistent, and at the close of the period under consideration the girls' school at Grahamstown was the only survivor.

We have seen that under the enlightened administration of Sir George Grey several stations were chosen as suitable centres for industrial schools. The most considerable of these was at Healdtown.[2] In the reaction that followed on the policy of Sir George Grey all such schools languished, and some were closed, but in 1867 the school buildings at Healdtown were adapted to the purposes of an institution

[1] Whiteside, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

[2] This name was given to commemorate the generous aid of Mr. James Heald, whose gifts to the Methodist Church were made to 'them that are afar off and to them that are nigh.'

for training Native teachers and candidates for the ministry. These last, however, were removed in 1880 to Lesseyton, and Healdtown was reserved for the training of teachers. It has been the *Alma Mater* of many who have been prominent in the several departments of civic life, as well as in the ministry of the Church. It owes a great debt to the Wesleyan training institution at Westminster, for many of its distinguished teachers have come from that college.

Educational work at Lesseyton began with an industrial school for girls, but, as we have just stated, the theological class was removed to this station from Healdtown in 1880. Both institutions have greatly strengthened the Church at Lesseyton. Another school for Native girls was begun at Shawbury, but it was broken up by wars and tribal disturbances, and not until 1893 did it hold out any prospect of success. At Peddie, which is now a suburb of Durban, there is yet another of these most useful and influential schools, but as this was opened in 1883 its history belongs to a period subsequent to that which is covered by this record. The same may be said of the Grammar School at Queenstown and of later extensions at Edendale and Butterworth. Industrial training for boys was provided at Clarkebury, in Tembuland, and at Buntingville, in Pondoland. The former has continued to prosper, and has proved to be a most successful school; but the latter, owing to the reactionary spirit of the Government under Dutch influence, was brought to a standstill in 1887, the Dutch apparently still retaining their former unwillingness to do anything for the uplifting of the Native races. Reference has already been made to the institution at Bensonvale, in the Kimberley District. This institution was first established by the Rev. J. Start in 1876, but in its first decade it suffered from the general unrest of the country, and from the scarcely concealed opposition of the Dutch. After that, however, the Natives took the matter into their own hands, and the school has been eminently successful.

It will be observed that in all these schools there have been two objects before the Missionaries. One has been the training of Native teachers and Ministers, and the other has been the inculcating of industry. In this the wisdom of the spiritual guides of the last century is conspicuous, for all who have fully considered the uplifting of the African are agreed that it is

through the realizing of the dignity of work that he will attain to racial manhood. Unfortunately that principle runs counter to the natural disposition of all African tribes. Among these work was for the most part left to women ; fighting and hunting were considered to be the fitting occupation of men. Now that both of these have fallen into desuetude, the one under the government of the British and the other owing to the disappearance of big game, as more and more the land has been reclaimed for cultivation, the African is threatened with the demoralization inevitable in an idle life, and whatever tends to inculcate the worthiness of work is rightly furthered by those who seek the moral and social welfare of the African as well as his spiritual enlightenment.

An excellent example of the value of industrial Missions in Africa is afforded in the well-known institution at Lovedale. This is an undenominational institution, founded by the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1841. It admits both Europeans and Natives, and maintains a large boarding establishment. It suffered, as did allot her institutions, during the Kafir wars, but under the management of the able men who directed its affairs it not only survived such disruptions, but continually developed, until now its range of influence has become very great. In 1894 there were more than 600 boarders of both sexes in the school, with a smaller number of day scholars in attendance. Hundreds of students trained in Lovedale have risen to positions of commanding influence and usefulness, while the Christian tone and temper which characterize it leave little to be desired.

In 1883 the Methodist Church of South Africa entered upon a new era in its history, for in that year its first Conference was held under the presidency of the Rev. John Walton, M.A. Thenceforth the Church was to take up the honour of her independence, and the burden of an unreferred responsibility. The circumstances which led up to this crisis were very similar to those which eventuated in the Affiliated Conference of Australasia in 1855. On the one side there was the healthy pressure of vigorous life in the South Africa Districts, resulting, as such pressure often does, in some amount of friction and impatience with the central administration in London ; and on the other hand, the financial embarrassment of the Committee confronted with increasing demands from the rapidly

growing Missions in the East at the very moment when the Society's income showed a distinct tendency to diminish. The difficulty of administering a Mission thousands of miles distant from the central authority is well known to all Missionary Societies. However genuine may be the desire of the latter to trust 'the man on the spot,' and to support him generously in providing for the development of his work, it is impossible to give him 'a free hand,' especially when the resources of the Society are limited. The Missionary, eager to fulfil his ministry, and face to face with opportunities for doing so, often commits the Society to an expenditure for which it is not prepared, and if the necessary expenditure is forbidden or refused there is vexation of spirit, or at best a grievous disappointment.

The stationing of the Missionaries is another source of trouble. Often the Missionaries on the field see openings which call for immediate advance, but when they had to secure the sanction of a Committee whose decision, in those early days, could not be obtained until several months had passed, a spirit of impatience was at once created. Sometimes, too, the Committee, acting entirely upon its own judgement, would transfer a Missionary to some station or to some entirely different field, and find themselves doing so with the strongly expressed opposition of the men concerned. We have seen in the course of this survey instances of the serious dislocation of work and of the unhappy feeling that may arise in consequence. In a sense all these difficulties are so many indications of healthy life and growth. They would not arise if the Missionary were indolent or apathetic, or if the Committee had lost interest in the work for which it is responsible. But with such difficulties continually arising it is not to be wondered at that Missionaries should welcome the coming of independence. In South Africa there was another fruitful cause of trouble. In 1863 the whole field was divided into five 'Districts,' each independent of the other four. There followed a difference in local administration, and much confusion. It was thought that the instituting of triennial general meetings of representative Missionaries from the several Districts would obviate this, would secure a unity of administration, and facilitate the exchanges of Missionaries from one District to another. Accordingly these Provincial Synods were established in 1871,

but though they accomplished a certain amount of good, speaking generally they only served to make the difficulties more apparent. It became increasingly evident that only complete independence, and a unity of administration on the field itself, would bring the necessary relief.

As early as 1860 this had been proposed by William Shaw —that far-seeing missionary statesman—but the South African Districts did not then see their way to financial independence, and the Conference in England was unwilling to grant autonomy to Missions still dependent upon the home Church for financial support. In 1876 the Rev. G. T. Perks was instructed to visit the South African Districts and to report upon their condition. But his strength proved unequal to the hardships involved in travelling to stations difficult of access, and shortly after his return to England he died, without having been able to make any adequate statement as to his findings. When the third triennial meeting of representatives from the several Districts was held in 1880 its President was the Rev. John Kilner, at that time one of the Secretaries of the Committee in Bishopsgate. He was sent out to continue the work begun by Mr. Perks. His visit is described by Whiteside as 'a kind of deputational hurricane.' He visited all the Districts, and his vigorous and somewhat brusque method of inquiry or of direction seems to have been something of a trial of temper to the Missionaries. 'His utterances and acts in certain cases were more vigorous than considerate; his solutions of certain problems were rather dissolutions.'[1] But the Secretary's visit, like other storms, served to clear the air, and the historian whose words we have just quoted describes the great impetus to the work given by this visit, and speaks of Mr. Kilner as the real creator of the South Africa Conference.

Before we come to deal with that project it may be well to give here the general impression made upon Kilner's mind by this visit to South Africa. In the report presented to the Committee in London he recognizes the spiritual results of the Mission. His account of some of the services which he attended shows that he was profoundly moved by what he saw and heard. After alluding to the mental, social, and moral disabilities of 'the red Kafir' he says:

> What a revolution is Christianity to such an one—a revolution of all

[1] Whiteside, *op cit.*, p. 414.

thought and emotion, volition and conscience and life. Yet the assault has been made; the reformation has been accomplished! God, the Holy Spirit, has essayed even this act of 'a new creation.' The work of conviction has been effected. The work of conversion has been accomplished. Yea, out of this consolidated sensualist God has raised up a child, beautiful with His own lineaments. I witnessed sights never to be forgotten; sights which presented phenomena for science, which perplexed the philosopher, and which astonished the Christian believer himself.

Equally impressed was he with the bearing, the character, and the work of the men who as 'Evangelists' had been preaching the Gospel to their own countrymen. Either from timidity, or from some less excusable defect, Missionaries had been unwilling to ordain them to the work of the ministry. But Kilner at one stroke effected that which the Missionaries, with a full recognition of the supreme need of a Native ministry, had hesitated to do, and no less than fifty or sixty names were registered as those of men who with the consent of the Conference might be ordained as 'Native Ministers on Trial.' Their term of probation was to extend until in each case the local Synod was convinced of their fitness to be received into 'Full Connexion.' Even though the Missionaries had agreed to this, many felt that the action was too hasty, and there were serious misgivings on the part of some. The result, however, fully justified the action of the Secretary, and the effect upon the Native Church has been all that could be desired. Kilner speaks of the men as being such as he would have received in India and Ceylon with nothing but gratitude to God, and declares that 'They are as much superior to those among whom they will labour as any batch of English candidates that ever offered themselves to Conference for work in England are superior to the people among whom they will have to labour.'

When he passes to consider the educational work of the Mission he is most severe. It must be remembered that his own missionary experience had been obtained in the East, where from the first education was recognized as the key to the situation, and he acknowledges the impression of contrast which he received in South Africa. In India and Ceylon

every Missionary actively interests himself in teaching the youth of the land; here there is scarcely a case in which the Missionary uses

this lever. So forcibly was I struck with this absence of appreciation of the situation that I was amazed and grieved beyond what words can express. I lost no time or opportunity of conversing with our men on the subject, and pressed upon them in every possible way the absolute necessity of personal devotion to this branch of Christian agency.

In describing the Native Churches, too, his report is severe. The low state of organization, the insufficiency of chapel accommodation, the discreditable and often insanitary conditions of the places used for worship—these and other features of the work among the African Christians come in for severe strictures from the Secretary. He also refers to the condition of many of the houses occupied by Missionaries. 'I found some sorry hovels in which our brethren reside. A packing-case, or a wooden bench from the school, or an old chair, was all we had in more than one house, and these were hardly safe to sit upon.' The fact is that the Secretary's visit coincided with the period of transition from the pioneer stage of Methodism to that of an established Church. It was well, however, that it should be known in England how great were the privations suffered by Missionaries and their wives—for the most part without a word of complaint—in founding the Methodist Church of South Africa.

There were other items in this report which showed the supreme value of this official visit to the Church on the eve of its independence and autonomy. Such were the keeping of Circuit accounts, the providing for the safety of important documents, and the form and use of schedules.

In the Triennial Synod over which he presided Kilner presented a draft of the constitution of the proposed Conference, and after a full discussion it was unanimously accepted. Subsequently the Revs. John Walton and F. Mason, Chairmen respectively of the Grahamstown and Natal Districts, with the Rev. J. Smith Spencer, visited England to confer still further with the Committee on this all-important matter, and their proposals received the sanction of the British Conference of 1882. The constitution thus drafted follows closely the main lines of those adopted in forming the Australasian Conference, and its details need not be repeated here. They will be found duly set forth in Volume iii. of this History, pp. 138 ff. The financial clauses of the draft were those

which caused most anxiety to a Church which as yet had no experience in the matter of meeting its full expenditure. But the Committee was wisely generous, and it was enacted that the sum total of the grants made by the Missionary Committee was to be continued at the same amount for five years, after which period the grants to Colonial Circuits were to be reduced at the rate of ten per cent. per annum, and the grants to purely missionary Circuits at the rate of five per cent. per annum. In 1882 the total grant stood at £14,000, but by the year 1902 it had entirely disappeared, and the South African Church was wholly independent of the home Society. The Transvaal and Bechuanaland Districts, which at that time were in their infancy, still remained under the direction of the British Conference.

Some anxiety had been felt in England as to whether a Church in which Colonists would necessarily predominate would maintain the missionary character of the Methodist Church, but all such fears were entirely falsified. In the excellent address of the first South African Conference to the Missionary Secretaries in London the matter is referred to as follows :

> We have not overlooked the importance of organizing a Missionary Society in connexion with our Conference. We would not even in appearance decline in the missionary fervour which characterized our forefathers, nor abate in the least the spirit of enterprise and self-sacrifice to which we owe our existence as a Connexion, and which we deem essential to our growth and vitality as a Church.

The results of this change in the constitution and government of the Church have been wholly good. Within the first decade the membership had risen from 20,742 to nearly 73,000. There were no less than 28,600 persons on probation for full membership and 20,916 in junior Classes. In 1882 the contributions to the Missionary Society from local sources amounted to £2,800. In 1903 they had reached the figure of £10,951,[1] and this remarkable growth has been maintained up to the present.

## Epilogue.

We have now traced the development of the Methodist Church in South Africa from its first inception up to the time

[1] These figures are taken from Whiteside's history.

of its independence. We have seen it in the stage of constant movement, ' trekking ' often to remote and inaccessible regions, from Cape Town to Khamiesberg, from Khamiesberg to Makwassi, beyond the Vaal ; then southwards again to the borders of Basutoland ; from Grahamstown, through the perilous country of the Kafir, to Natal ; reaching out—only to withdraw again—to Delagoa Bay and Madagascar, but always on the move ; going into the wilderness to seek the lost sheep of the great Shepherd.

Then followed the days of definite locations, tentative at first, but where wisely chosen rapidly becoming centres around which a constantly increasing circle formed ; exposed to attacks from enemies who knew not that they were destroying their truest friends.

Last came the appearance of civic functions. The African ceased to be a nomad ; he sought the advantages of communal life. The European struck his roots deep into the fertile soil. Cities sprang up where only the trackless veldt had been, and the Christian Church, responding to the appeal of human souls, whether in White or Black, took advantage of the more stable conditions, built them stately homes of prayer, and formed the city that hath foundations. As we study the indescribably difficult conditions under which the earliest service was rendered, as we bow in reverence before the personal devotion of saintly men and women who ' took joyfully the spoiling of their goods ' and accepted sacrifice as the pledge of their love, and as we see the resultant Church even in the day of its new-found autonomy, reaching out again to the regions beyond—as we mark these indications of an indwelling Spirit in the Church, there is but one great legend to be inscribed upon the city's walls : ' Its Builder and Maker is GOD.'

# *THE TRANSVAAL*

## I

## TREASURE HID IN A FIELD

A new Mission—The Barolongs—George Blencowe and David Magata—Potchefstroom—Natal and the new Mission—The Boers—Owen Watkins—Aapjee's River—Molema and Mafeking—Samuel Mathabathe—Swaziland and Msimang—Gold at the Witwatersrand—Watkins in Zululand—Mafeking—The Crossing of the Limpopo—The Boer War—Delagoa Bay and Robert Mashaba—The Witwatersrand Mission—Two Martyrdoms—An Official Visit.

In the report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for the year 1883 the following statement appears :

> Two important matters invite attention in connexion with the work in South Africa. The first is the establishment of the South African Conference, and the second is the commencement of a new Mission in the Transvaal and Swaziland. It is expected that this arrangement will mark a new era in our work in that country, and that the results will prove highly beneficial. In the establishment of the Conference it was deemed desirable to retain the Transvaal and Swaziland in connexion with the Society, the new Conference not being strong enough in the first instance to undertake the Mission work which is required to be done in that district. The Society now proposes to make a commencement to reach Central Africa through the Transvaal, Swaziland, and Molopo. The attempt may seem small and feeble in the first instance, but it is large and far-reaching in prospect and promise.

To an account of this attempt we now address ourselves.

We have seen how the Boers, seeking to escape from British jurisdiction, especially in so far as it was concerned with their relation to African tribes, abandoned their farms, and trekked to the then unexplored country north of the Vaal River. They entered a country in which they had all that they desired, and, though they knew it not, wealth beyond their wildest dreams, Its climate was good, and they found excellent grazing for

their cattle. The indigenous population, preferring the warmer lands that lay east and west, was sparse, and it was speedily dispossessed of whatever rights it had in the land by those who looked upon themselves as God's Covenant people, while all others were 'Canaanites' and to be treated accordingly. These few thousands of Dutch farmers spread themselves out over a country as large as France, and hoped that they might now be able to live as they pleased. In those days the area now covered by Johannesburg was part of the open veldt, and Pretoria an insignificant village. Their chief town, and the centre of their administration, was Potchefstroom, situated a little north of the Vaal.

The nearest station occupied by the Wesleyan Missionaries was Thaba Nchu, where, with every possible disadvantage, the Mission to the Barolongs had been carried on. Another section of the Barolong tribe resided at Moshaneng, north of Mafeking, and a certain amount of intercourse and traffic between the two places went on. The Rev. D. M. Ludorf was sent to South Africa in 1849, and in 1853 he was appointed to work at Thaba Nchu. He was a Missionary of extraordinary versatility. He readily acquired the vernacular language of the people, and was no mean scholar in Sesuto. He was also highly qualified in medicine and surgery, and he used this knowledge to excellent effect in the furtherance of his work. He could bind a book or repair the broken wheel of a wagon as well as he could set a fractured limb or perform an operation for cataract. In 1852 he was appointed to visit Moshaneng once a year, and he acquired great influence with Montsioa, the ruling chief of the Barolongs, and with his brother Molema. In 1862 Ludorf, on his way to Moshaneng, passed through Potchefstroom, and found much to criticize in the method and management of the Boers, but in the following year a few English people residing in Potchefstroom asked the Rev. George Murray, a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, to help them in their worship. He readily consented to do so, and Dutchman and Britisher were thus happily united in the first English service held in the Transvaal. Dutchman and Britisher were to find themselves in terrible conflict in the years that were to come, but that first service remains on record as the harbinger of truest union in the future.

In 1865 Potchefstroom appears in the *Minutes of Conference*

as a Mission station, and in 1867 the first appointment of a European Missionary—that of the Rev. J. Thorne—was made. Thorne only remained one year, and after that the station was visited from Thaba Nchu. Now in 1871 the Rev. G. Blencowe, then serving at Ladysmith, was on one of his long evangelistic tours, and when a hundred miles from home he heard that there was a Kafir, who declared himself a Wesleyan, preaching to his fellow tribesmen, and building up a Church at Potchefstroom. He rode on to inquire into the matter, and at last found himself face to face with David Magata, as true a Missionary as any in the long roll of the heroes of the Church. He held no commission to preach from the Church; he was constrained by the love of Christ; and his service was honoured by the great Head of the Church. It appeared that he had been taken prisoner by the Matabele in one of their frequent raids, and for some time had been the domestic slave of their great king, Moselikatse. When the latter was driven out of the Transvaal by the Boers, David escaped and found himself at length at Thaba Nchu, where Christ claimed him for the service which is perfect freedom. He set himself to learn to read, and presently his heart began to yearn over his brethren and kinsmen after the flesh. So he walked all the way to Magaliesberg, preaching as he went, until to the remnants of his father's house he revealed the love of God in Christ Jesus. Then, hearing that there were those in Potchefstroom who were as sheep not having a shepherd, he came to them, gathered a congregation, established a school, and strove to induce every one he met to come into the fold of Christ. It is indicative of the general attitude of the Boers towards the Kafirs that they considered it an outrage that one of the despised race should presume to preach. David was cruelly scourged and banished from Potchefstroom. In his wanderings he fell in with no less a person than Paul Kruger, who was then commander of an expedition against the Zulus. When he heard David's story he gave him a written permit to return to Potchefstroom; and David, armed with this authority, took up his ministry again. Every morning he was in the market-place speaking of Christ to all whom he met, and finding the means of sustenance in the gifts of those who were inclined to help him. He worked in this way for some years, until Blencowe met him, by which time he had built

up a little Church in Potchefstroom, not knowing that the little company of men and women, the hard-won fruit of his unordained ministry, was the earnest of a great Church numbering many thousands, and spreading far up beyond the great river Zambezi. Meantime Ludorf had settled in Potchefstroom, but more and more his zeal as a physician had displaced his devotion to the ministry, and after awhile he severed his connexion with the Wesleyan Church.

Blencowe was a great geologist. He had early seen the value of the coal-fields of Natal, and now he saw the potentialities of the Transvaal in mineral wealth. He declared the whole country to be rich in gold and copper, lead and coal, and he prophesied that it would one day be the most densely populated country in South Africa, and that the new population would be mostly British. But he saw also the greater riches of the kingdom of Christ, and was eager to win that which was better than gold. In his report sent to England at the request of the Committee he says :

> I regard Potchefstroom as the best place for the commencement of our operations in the South African Republic. It is the commercial metropolis, and has, so far as I can learn, the largest number prepared for salvation of any place in the country. . . . This district might at first be a branch of the Natal District. One thoroughly reliable man, who will act with prudence and energy, and two young men with him, will be all that is necessary at present. He could visit Pretoria, the seat of Government, and a town of nearly 3,000 inhabitants, and Heidelberg, also a town of good size, and could extend his operations as required. If you are prepared to take the matter up vigorously, I know of no sphere of operations more likely to be successful.

Blencowe's appeal was successful, and in 1873 we find in the Society's report the following entry : ' Potchefstroom, George Blencowe, William Wynne, George Weavind.'

Of George Weavind we shall find much in the pages that follow. William Wynne was a young man whom Blencowe, on his own responsibility, had engaged for work at Ladysmith. He had been a student at Didsbury, but there his health had broken down, and he had come to South Africa in the hope of restoring it. Blencowe sent him to Potchefstroom until the mind of the Committee could be known. That same year Wynne visited Pretoria. He found that members of the Wesleyan Church at Kimberley had come to reside in Pretoria,

where they had purchased farms. These and others assured him that it would be quite possible to obtain the support of a Minister if one were stationed there.

In 1874 a notable addition to the staff of Missionaries appeared in the person of the Rev. James Calvert. Thirty-four years had passed since he first went to Fiji, but when the years of retirement might have been considered to be approaching the Missionary was ill content to remain in England, and in 1870 he came to South Africa, where he added experience, wisdom, and stability to the counsels of his brethren. He was first appointed to Kimberley, but he now came to Potchefstroom, and for four years he did much to consolidate the Church life in that station.

In 1876 the three Circuits, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and Kronstadt—the last named occupied in 1874—were attached to the Bechuanaland District, the Chairman of which visited the new Circuits from time to time. Meanwhile Blencowe's prophecy had been fulfilled, though not yet as fully as after years were to show. Gold had been discovered in the north-west of the Transvaal, and the usual rush to exploit the newly discovered field had begun. At Lydenburg and Pilgrim's Rest some thousands of miners were quickly at work, and in 1874 Blencowe joined them at Pilgrim's Rest, sharing all the discomforts incidental to such enterprise in its earlier stages, and declaring to all the unsearchable riches of God in Christ Jesus. The mines in this neighbourhood, however, were speedily thrown into insignificance by the discovery of the far richer deposits of gold at Johannesburg. Blencowe soon removed, and it was not until 1895 that the work in this region was taken up again. The strategic centres for the Church were for the time elsewhere.

Blencowe returned to England in 1877, became a supernumerary, and gave himself up to literary work. He returned to South Africa in 1882 and resided at Wakkerstroom, where he gave such help as his strength permitted. He died at Maritzburg in 1892, full of years, and honoured in all the Churches. For nearly fifty years he had given himself unreservedly to South Africa.

The importance of the new mission was clearly seen in Natal, and in 1878 the following resolutions were formulated and adopted by the Synod in that District :

1. That a strong and effective Mission should be commenced in the Transvaal with the least possible delay.

2. That the South Africa Districts should take an active part in the work, both with men and means.

3. That the Natal District would in such a case of urgency be prepared to relinquish one man for the new Mission.

4. That a portion of the grant not exceeding £200 should be given up with the man, and that strenuous efforts should be made in the District to raise an equal amount. If all the South African Districts do the same a sum will be obtained sufficient, with a moiety from the Committee, to start the new Mission.

5. That it is very desirable that a Minister should, if possible, be at once sent to Pretoria who could direct the Mission.

The Committee at once began to receive substantial gifts towards the new Mission, notably one from Mr. T. Morgan Harvey of £1,000, and it was resolved to attach the new field to the Natal District, to be worked as a section of that District. For a few years, however, there was a pause. The Boer Republic was far from successful in administration. The formidable military power of the Zulus threatened to overwhelm the Dutch burghers. That power was not broken until the British stepped in, destroyed the terrorism of the Zulus by a military expedition under Lord Wolseley, and annexed the Transvaal. During these operations the Rev. G. Weavind at Pretoria and the Revs. T. Creswell and S. B. Cawood at Potchefstroom continued quietly at their appointed work.

The Boers had been compelled by the economic and political disasters which threatened them to acquiesce in the British occupation of the Transvaal. But when the fear of these disasters was removed the former discontents at once reappeared. The levying of taxes and the suppression of all raids upon surrounding African tribes—reforms which were undoubtedly beneficial to the community in intention—these things were a vexation of spirit to the Boers. It must be confessed, too, that the arbitrary rule of military officers, who were of necessity the first administrators in the annexed territory, and the uncertainty of British administration from England—one Government reversing the policy of its predecessor—were unhappy features in the existing conditions. All these things led to the Boers declaring their independence, and taking up arms in defence of it. There followed in 1881 the disastrous battle of Majuba, and the surrender of the

country to the Boers, in spite of the heroic defence of British settlers at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, and other places. The issue between the two races was not yet, however, decided. It was to be only through war, and the countless disasters, moral and economic, that always accompany it, that a settlement was to be ultimately reached.

But the set time for the more rapid development of the Mission to the Transvaal had come, and in the providence of God the Missionary was ready for the work. The Rev. Owen Watkins had been a Minister in the home work for some years, and had already become recognized as one who was likely to occupy a prominent position among his brethren. He was, however, in very poor health, and after more than one serious breakdown he was advised to seek the more favourable climate of South Africa. In 1876 he was appointed to Pietermaritzburg, where he served for two years. He found a keen enjoyment in administrative detail, and was fearless in speech and in action. He had also a heart brim full of human kindness, and he was as just as he was kind. When the third Triennial Conference of the South African Districts was held in 1880 the Natal District took the lead in urging the vigorous prosecution of work in the Transvaal, and was, as we have seen, prepared to do much in furthering it. But no contribution which it offered was so great as its offer to set Owen Watkins free to take up the new work. The Missionary Committee agreed; and in the *Minutes* of the Conference held in 1880 the name of 'the Transvaal and Swaziland Mission' appears, with Owen Watkins for its first Chairman and General Superintendent. But as late as November, 1881, the new Chairman was still at Maritzburg. The troops had taken so many oxen for transport purposes that there were none available for the use of civilians, and there was nothing to do but to wait until normal conditions returned. In January of the following year he succeeded in getting to Pretoria; the first Synod of the new District was convened, and the Methodist Church in South Africa entered upon the second stage of its wonderful history. Only two Ministers were present in addition to the Chairman, S. B. Cawood, who had endured the privations of siege in Potchefstroom, and C. S. Franklin, a young Minister who had accompanied Watkins from Natal. Weavind was in England. After being shut up in Pretoria he had

returned to that country for furlough, and quarantine regulations had delayed his return to the Transvaal.

Missionary operations had naturally been in suspense during the war, but God has many ways of carrying on His work, and Owen Watkins had scarcely arrived in Pretoria before he came upon a little Church, the history of which deserves to stand side by side with that of David Magata at Potchefstroom. This was at a place known as Aapjee's River, where several kraals were situated, with a population of about 2,000 people. Hither had come, nine years before, a Native Christian named Klass Dhoba. He is described as a man of medium talent, but he was richly endowed in spiritual gifts and powers. He gathered together all who would listen to him and preached regularly to them. With an equipment ludicrously insufficient he opened a school and conducted Class-meetings, while as occasion served he preached to the heathen in the neighbouring kraals. For nine years he thus served, supporting himself by the labour of his hands, and receiving no emolument whatever. When Watkins visited him he found a little church built by the people themselves, a Christian community of 17 members, with 54 in preparation for baptism, and a congregation attending the Sunday services of about 90 persons. The respect of the people for their Pastor, and the influence which he had acquired, not only over the members of the Church, but also over the surrounding tribes, declared him to be one of those whose ordination to the ministry, though not of any ecclesiastical order, was nevertheless of God. The new Chairman must have found at Aapjee's River the happiest of auguries for his new work. His description of the scene at night, when he and two others who had come with him sat by his wagon and taught the people to sing the songs of Zion while the love of Christ filled their hearts, is one which shows that his own heart was overflowing with joy. We can imagine that another heart must have been equally full—that of the simple African Christian who, without fee or reward, had built up this little Church in the wilderness of heathendom.

Before the first year of his chairmanship had closed Owen Watkins had sent to Bishopsgate a long letter, the tenor of which may be guessed from the minutes of the Committee held in December, 1882 :

It was agreed :

1. That it is expedient that prudent but vigorous efforts be made to avail ourselves of the present openings to extend our Missions in the Transvaal to the Zambezi, and thence to Central Africa.

2. That we approve the general principles underlying the scheme proposed by Mr. Watkins.

3. That a Mission be opened among the Barolong tribes to the south-west of the Transvaal.

4. That an educational and industrial institution be opened as soon as possible at some suitable centre.

Central Africa, and even the Zambezi, were a long way from Pretoria, but the eager heart of the Missionary overleaped the intervening miles and claimed the whole country for Christ.

On the western boundary of the Transvaal the work of God went on in spite of the vicissitudes of war and many failures in the human agency. We have seen how the Mission to the Barolong people began, and we have noted its two centres, one at Thaba Nchu and the other at Moshaneng, a little north of Mafeking. To this latter we must now turn our attention.

The chief of the Barolongs was Montsioa, but it is a moot question whether his brother, Molema, was not the greater man. The latter, during a visit to Thaba Nchu, had been 'apprehended' by Christ, and he yielded himself up to that Master as St. Paul had done before him. It is remarkable that Thaba Nchu—where Mission work had been begun by Broadbent in great weakness, and after many wanderings and much opposition from both Boer and Basuto—became the spiritual birthplace of some of the noblest African Christians. It was there that David Magata had found Christ, and it was there that Molema entered into the same ennobling captivity. On his return to Moshaneng he at once declared his new-found allegiance, and in consequence, though neither his father nor his brother raised any objection, he suffered much persecution from others of his tribe. He was not, however, daunted by this, and he at once became the spiritual leader and guide of the Barolongs. Religion did not prevent his public service on behalf of his people. In attacks from their inveterate enemies, the Matabele, he was always to the fore in resisting them, and when the Boers raided their cattle he resisted them with equal determination. In 1857 he, with a considerable

following, left Moshaneng and settled at Mafeking, where he at once proceeded to build a chapel and to preach the Gospel to his followers. In 1870 he was joined by his brother Montsioa, and the new settlement became the centre of the Barolong tribe. In 1870 the Rev. Jonathan Webb was appointed to reside at Mafeking, but after he left in 1875 no Missionary seems to have resided there, in spite of repeated and earnest petitions from both Montsioa and Molema. In 1880 the station was transferred from the Bloemfontein District to the Transvaal, and in 1882 it was visited by Owen Watkins. But before he arrived at Mafeking Molema had passed to his reward, and the story of his passing reveals his loyalty to the Church and his confidence that it would not fail his people. Calling to his bedside the leaders and Preachers of the Church, he gave them commandment that they should never leave the Church through whose instrumentality they had entered into light. His last words were: 'When the Missionary Society hears that I, your father, am dead, they will send a White father to care for you and the Church of God.' When Watkins came the following year to Mafeking he found a Church of 279 members, with 43 others in preparation for baptism.

During the years that he spent in the Transvaal Watkins travelled incessantly. It is amazing that a man of so weak a physique was able to endure the fatigue of travelling as he did. But as his colleague, George Weavind, said, 'Though we cannot boast of a muscular Chairman, he has the heart of a giant.' East and west, north and south, went this indefatigable Chairman, and wherever he went he found the same story, of some African born into newness of life through the ministry of a Missionary hundreds of miles away, then returning to his own people and setting himself to proclaim the Saviour of all men until he had built up a little Church of believers, waiting in confident hope that some day God would send them a teacher to expound to them more perfectly the things concerning the kingdom of Christ. Weavind, writing of his first Synod in the new District, says:

> I have been overwhelmed by the things I have heard since my return. Men have come from all parts of the Transvaal to tell us that here and there amongst the heathen Churches have been formed; and they, with multitudes besides—poor, degraded, and uncared-for, but

nevertheless redeemed Kafirs—are waiting, eagerly waiting, for us to bring them the light.

The seed was sown at Khamiesberg, at Salem, and at Thaba Nchu. Harvest was gathered at each place, but the greater harvest was far away, waiting to be gathered in the name of the Lord of the harvest.

We next hear of Watkins seventy miles north of Pretoria, where an exact replica of what he found at Aapjee's River awaited him. Eight years before Hans Aapjee was led to Christ in Cape Colony. He learnt to read and write, and then returned to his own people to declare what God had done for his soul. He became their teacher and preacher, built a chapel, and gathered together a little Church of those who through his ministry had yielded themselves up to Christ. He had no school books; his Bible became his primer, and he taught them from that with such effect that Watkins found some 30 people who had learned the way of salvation. Franklin was sent to give them further instruction, and when the Chairman paid his next visit he had the joy of baptizing 48 adults and 72 children. He closes his letter to the Committee with the often-quoted but never more apposite words, 'It is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.' Naturally the question of training Native teachers to instruct the large number of people who were waiting to be admitted into the Church at once became urgent. Weavind had pleaded for an educational Missionary to be sent to Potchefstroom, where he hoped to establish a training institution, and in 1884 the Rev. J. G. Benson was sent to begin it. The institution, however, remained at Potchefstroom for only a short time. It was afterwards removed to Kilnerton, near Pretoria, and its history will be found in a later chapter.

The next appeal to the Chairman came from a tribe 250 miles north of Pretoria, and about 100 miles from the Limpopo River, which formed the northern boundary of the Transvaal. From this tribe in 1867 Samuel Mathabathe went to Natal in search of employment, and there he met James Allison. We have seen already how great was the harvest that followed on Allison's sowing, and when he won the heart of Samuel Mathabathe for Christ he flung the good seed hundreds of miles away, and he never guessed where the ripened sheaves would stand. Mathabathe returned to his home; and,

when the chief of the tribe refused to allow him to hold meetings, he taught the people individually, going from house to house. When, four years after, the chief died, conditions became more favourable to the Christians. A school and two chapels were built. Then, when teachers were wanted, Samuel called a meeting of the Church, prayer was offered for Divine guidance, and two men of good report and acknowledged piety were appointed. It is a story of 'original Christianity.' Presently the teachers so appointed felt the need of further training, and Samuel sent them to study for two years with the French Missionaries in Basutoland. This was 700 miles from home, but the two men walked there, and when they had completed the two years they walked back and began their work. The little church was burnt down by enemies, and with infinite patience Samuel built it again, all this while declaring and maintaining his allegiance to the Wesleyan Church, and bidding his people wait for the Missionary who would surely come. Then came the supreme test of faith. A Christian woman gave birth to twins, and Native custom demanded that one of the infants should be destroyed. Samuel refused to give up the child, and when presently it sickened and died, and its body was claimed by the heathen priests, he again refused. He and the father then carried the dead body of the child forty miles to a Mission station of the Dutch Reformed Church, where it was buried. The picture of these two men bearing their sacred burden is one of the most moving in the whole story of our Church. When they returned they found that their chapel had been for the second time burned to the ground, and that an order had been issued that all Christian people should leave the tribe, and so two hundred persons went into exile for Christ's sake. They 'took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had themselves for a better inheritance.' When at last the long-expected Missionary arrived, and Watkins stood in the presence of these people, he was profoundly moved, and who can wonder at his emotion? There stood before him a company of people who with the minimum of light had found the way to Christ. They had proved, whatever might be the test applied, their unquestionable loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ, and His 'marks' were upon them for every one to see. In 1885 the Rev. George Lowe, with two Native assistants,

was sent to shepherd this flock in the wilderness, and the settlement which they had formed was entered in the *Minutes* as 'Zoutpansberg—Good Hope Mission.'[1] Samuel Mathabathe lived to a good old age and maintained his fidelity to the last. He passed to fuller life in 1913, by which time he was eighty years of age.

The stations in the Transvaal District, as shown in the report of 1884—only two years after the inception of the work—presented an extraordinary appearance. Omitting all English work, there were no less than twenty-five places where work among different tribes was being carried on, and though the unhappy legend 'A Native Agent Wanted' appears after the name of each station, the indication is unmistakable that the new Mission had found 'a people prepared of the Lord.'

East of the Transvaal lies the country of the Swazis, an off-set of the great Zulu tribe, and we have seen (p. 296) how James Allison began a Mission to these people in 1846 at a place called Mahamba. Driven thence, and forced to take refuge in Natal, it seemed as if his effort had been entirely fruitless in that region, but the good seed never fails to come to fruition, though it may be after many days, and in ways entirely unexpected. Missionaries in the Transvaal were to prove that 'the future never comes before to meet us; it comes streaming up from behind over our heads.' After Allison's death one of his converts, whom we have already met, Daniel Msimang, returned to Mahamba, and forthwith began to preach to his fellow tribesmen. Mahamba lies at the point where three territories meet—Swaziland, the Transvaal, and Zululand—and the whole of this district was in a condition of continual unrest. The British claimed mining rights, and the Boers claimed grazing privileges, while the predatory habits of the Zulus were a constant menace. But Msimang went quietly to work, waiting, as so many others had done, for the coming of the Missionary. Watkins had paid a short visit to Swaziland in 1883, but he considered the country to be then too unsettled to afford the prospect of successful missionary work. In 1885 he visited it for the second time,

[1] Watkins had appealed to the Committee for permission to purchase a farm of four thousand acres in the Zoutpansberg district where the exiled Christians might dwell in peace and cultivate the land. The appeal met with a ready response from the Methodist Church in England, and subscriptions towards this object at once began to flow into the exchequer of the Mission House.

and had the joy of meeting Msimang. Forty-two years had passed since Allison had been driven out of Mahamba, but Watkins found there a Church of 60 members, with others on trial for full membership. They worshipped in a little chapel built by Msimang. The latter had been often in peril of death, but, undeterred by his opponents, in steadfast faith and patience, he had borne an unfaltering witness for Christ, until some who had been his greatest opponents were changed into friends, and those who had threatened to take his life came to him to seek admission into the Church of Christ.

'If Daniel had lived,' says Watkins, 'in the days of the early Church he would have been the Bishop of Ethiopia.' Ten years later Daniel was still the Minister of the Church at Mahamba, but there were by that time three Circuits in Swaziland, recording a Church membership of nearly 300, with 190 others on probation. The three years of Watkins' Chairmanship had thus resulted in strong Mission stations being established at strategic points: in the south at Potchefstroom, and in the north at Zoutpansberg; in the east at Mahamba, and in the west at Mafeking; and it is to be noticed that in each case the foundation of the Church had been laid by one of Africa's own sons. Magata, Mathabathe, Msimang, and Molema are names which the Church in the Transvaal will keep in honoured remembrance.

By this time the Methodist Church was fairly established at the extremities of the Transvaal, and the time was now come for its further development at the centre. The European staff of Missionaries in the year 1886 was distributed as follows: R. F. Appelbe and Isaac Shimmin had been sent to strengthen the hands of Msimang at Mahamba. Weavind and Benson were still at Potchefstroom. A. S. Sharp was at Bloemhof, and J. C. James was at Mafeking. G. Lowe was at Good Hope, and W. J. Underwood was associated with the Chairman at Pretoria. There is no mention of Johannesburg, for the very good reason that there was then no such place. But in that year gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in sufficient quantities to justify the Government in proclaiming it 'a gold-field.' There followed at once a rush of eager prospectors and miners from all parts of South Africa, followed by still greater numbers from all parts of the globe, and as if by magic the city of Johannesburg sprang into being. The discovery

was fraught with economic and political issues then unguessed at. The only thought in the minds of those who hastened to the locality was how best they might secure a share of the wealth buried underground. A mining camp has often been described, and we shall attempt no description here. Suffice it to say that in the days of the first rush there was little or no provision for Christian worship, or any sort of religious observance. It is in such circumstances that the special genius of the Methodist Church reveals itself. Its recognition of the fitness of godly laymen to take their part in the service of the Church has been fruitful in blessing in every quarter of the world. When the Rev. G. Weavind came over to visit the camp he found that two laymen—one of them Mr. J. Thornhill Cook, the son of a Missionary in South Africa, and an old Kingswood boy, and the other Mr. J. Dednam—grieved at the prevailing godlessness of the camp, had gathered a few like-minded with themselves, and as they both happened to be Local Preachers they held services on Sundays and conducted class-meetings at other times. They met for worship in any place they could secure, but whether it was a stable or a house they made it a house of prayer. Weavind quickly made arrangements for regular visits to be made by the Missionaries stationed in Pretoria, thirty-five miles away. But it was obvious from the first that such arrangements could only be temporary, and before he left Weavind had secured from the mining Commissioner the grant of a site on which a suitable church might be afterwards erected. In 1887 the Rev. F. J. Briscoe arrived from England, and at once set about the building of a church,[1] but within two years the church so erected proved to be too small, and the church in President Street, with accommodation for seven hundred people, was built. It was soon found that other churches were required. The auriferous 'banket' ran east and west for more than thirty miles, and mining centres sprang up all along the line. Churches were built at Jeppestown, Fordsburg, Ophirton, Jumpers, Langlaagte, and Marshall's Street; altogether no less than eleven chapels were built in the space of three years, while in addition Missions were conducted in the open air. Nor were the Natives forgotten. A chapel was

[1] Mr. Briscoe was the first Christian Minister to take up residence in the newly formed town of Johannesburg.

built for them, but a far greater work was done on their behalf in the open air. The advantages and disadvantages of the Compound System, already described in connexion with the work at Kimberley, reappeared at Johannesburg, intensified by the greater demand for Native labour. In the report for the year 1888, when the first returns from Johannesburg were shown, there were 46 English members and 15 Native, with one Missionary appointed for both departments. In 1895, or nearly ten years after the discovery of gold, there were three Ministers in English churches and four in churches provided for the use of Native congregations. The membership was 260 English and 856 Natives, with more than 500 of the latter on probation. The returns of Local Preachers are interesting as showing that this characteristic agency in the Methodist Church was fully maintained; of these there were 22 English and 65 Native Preachers.

The growth and development of Johannesburg was phenomenal, and the Missionaries found it hard to keep in touch with Christian people spread over so large an area. To increase their difficulty coal was discovered at Boksburg, five miles beyond Germiston, and a considerable influx of population took place in that locality. Nearly every nation was represented in Johannesburg, and the heterogeneous character of the population created another difficulty. There was no dominant Christian system of moral conduct. The country was bare and unattractive, and in consequence relaxation from the feverish excitement prevalent was sought in unhealthy and immoral forms of amusement. The observance of the Lord's Day was generally neglected. True, the Native labourers had that day free; but the canteen, with the poisonous liquor sold to them, was a centre of unmitigated demoralization, and Sunday became the most riotous and dangerous day of the week. Some alleviation was found in the institution of open-air Mission work, and conversions cheered the hearts of the hard-pressed workers. Another compensation for the hardships of their work was found in this, that the fellowship of service enabled them to enter into a spiritual communion with each other which otherwise it would have been hard for them to realize.

Meantime Owen Watkins had not allowed the excitement incidental to the building of Johannesburg to divert him from

his enthusiasm for the work among the African people. The spirit that was in him gave him no rest. 'His own thought drove him like a goad.' His eyes were held by the North, but early in January, 1886, he set out for Zululand. He had always held that a Mission to the Zulus fell to the care of the Church in Natal, but the Missionaries in that District were feeling the burden of obligation placed upon them by their newly acquired independence, and when they declared themselves unable to attempt such a Mission Watkins at once decided to explore Zululand. He accordingly set out upon what was to prove a most arduous journey, taking with him Daniel Msimang—as eager as himself. His interviews with officials, both British and Boer, were all that he could desire in courtesy and in readiness to further his Mission, but it was pointed out to him that politically the country was most unsettled, and that the prevalence of fever made it undesirable as a residence for white men. Nevertheless he pressed on, until at last he secured an interview with the king, Dinizulu. He secured nothing from either the king or his ministers which could be considered a satisfactory statement as to their attitude to the proposed Mission. They were afraid that if they received English Missionaries they would get into trouble with the Dutch. Watkins had reluctantly to admit that the state of the country was such that he could not recommend the Committee to begin what would be a dangerous and expensive Mission. He returned to Pretoria completely exhausted, after what he describes as the most difficult and trying time he had ever had in his life. Zululand was finally left as a sphere of missionary activity to be entered, when the opportunity offered, by the South African Conference, and when this chapter was written in 1921 the report showed a membership in that country of 559, with more than 300 on trial for membership. In 1918 three English Missionaries and one African Minister were at work in Zululand. A happy arrangement between Owen Watkins and George Weavind left the Chairman free to undertake the extensive journeys in which he found so much interest, while his 'Second in Command' devoted himself to the work of administration. Weavind's self-obliteration and devoted service seemed likely to be hidden from the observation of Methodists in England, moved as these were by the remarkable reports sent home by Owen

Watkins. The latter made a loyal and spirited protest against this, and declared that whatever success he recorded was due, under God, to the efficient and self-forgetful service of his brother-Minister and loyal friend. The claim thus made for a recognition of the place which George Weavind filled in the early days of the Transvaal Mission was amply justified.

Our last reference to the work among the Barolongs was in connexion with the visit paid by Owen Watkins to the chief Montsioa in 1882. By the close of the decade a great development had taken place in this western outpost of the Transvaal, and we must now turn to consider it. The Boers in the Transvaal found themselves likely to be enclosed by the British, who were pushing up towards the northern territory. They therefore occupied Bechuanaland in 1882 and set up two subsidiary 'Republics,' which they named 'Stellaland' and 'Goschen.' The whole of Bechuanaland became in consequence the scene of violence, outrage, and anarchy. The result of this action of the Boers was specially distressing to the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who, following the shining footsteps of Livingstone, were working along a line through Kuruman and to the west of Mafeking. The Rev. John Mackenzie had proved himself the staunch friend of the Bechuana tribes, and had been strenuous in effort to maintain their rights. He was appointed Commissioner in this district by the British Government, but before he had been many months in office an agitation against his administration was organized. He was recalled, and Cecil Rhodes became Commissioner in his stead. The change proved to be far from beneficial. Misrule and disaffection continued, until eventually Sir Charles Warren was sent at the head of British troops to reduce unruly elements and to secure peace and contentment in Bechuanaland. A British Protectorate over the country was proclaimed; the Boers retired, and Montsioa and his people were at peace. This was in 1884. In the following year the Rev. R. F. Appelbe was appointed to Mafeking, and, though the whole country had been devastated during four years of war, he found that the Barolong Christians had kept up the regular services on the Sabbath, though often they were fired upon by their enemies on their way to worship. No tribute can be too high for these men. They themselves had no Christian tradition behind them to

help them through a period which would have tested the faith of any Church. Their own personal loyalty to Christ was their only light and strength, but it proved sufficient, and when Appelbe arrived in Mafeking he found that the light had never gone out, and a Church of 250 members was waiting to receive him. Montsioa had made no profession of Christianity, but he had befriended the Mission in many ways, and he had been unswerving in his loyalty to the British. The British officers, at that time occupying the town, out of respect for the old chief offered their services in building a chapel, the foundation stones of which were laid by Sir Charles Warren and Montsioa himself, so that the sanctuary commemorates the alliance between the Bechuana and the British. That alliance was to be still further tested, as subsequent events will show. On the occasion of the stone-laying the contributions of the people amounted to no less than £256, a noble offering from those who had just passed through a period of war, in the course of which they had often seemed to be at the mercy of their foes, and had actually known privations almost amounting to starvation. The chapel was quickly finished after Appelbe's arrival, and the old chapel, sadly knocked about during the war, was repaired. In these two homes of prayer no less than 1,200 persons assembled on Sundays. Ten years after there were 1,000 members in Mafeking, with 250 on probation, while there were as many as 37 Local Preachers—a most hopeful feature of the Church. This rapid growth is not to be wondered at in a Church the faith of the members of which had passed unscathed through the fires of war. Later on Appelbe's service was needed in Johannesburg, and to this city he was removed in 1890, but the living Church of Mafeking remains a worthy memorial of most worthy service.

In 1889 a premature attempt was made to incorporate the Transvaal Mission with the South African Conference, and both Watkins and Weavind attended the Conference which considered the proposal. After due deliberation it was decided to continue the separate administration. The set time had not yet come. Meanwhile the Committee in Bishopsgate Street was becoming alarmed at the rapidity with which Mission stations were being opened in the Transvaal, entailing, as these did, some increase of expenditure at a time when the Society's funds were declining. It was thought necessary to

bring the enthusiasm of the Chairman within a measure of restraint, and so, in spite of previous resolutions with reference to 'the Zambezi and Central Africa,' the Committee thought it advisable to inform Owen Watkins that he was on no account to go farther north than the Limpopo. The immediate cause of this reaction was the receipt of information that a Methodist African was preaching the Gospel in the country bordering on the Zambezi, and that he and his following were expecting a visit from 'the Great Father,' as Watkins was called. The Committee further indicated that it might become necessary to reduce the grant made to the Mission. This drew a vehement protest from the Chairman: 'God has given us a glorious opportunity, such as we have never had in the history of Africa, and yet we cannot go forward for want of money. . . . The sorrow and the shame are ours; but the responsibility rests upon the Methodist people in England.' But the way was opened in a quite unexpected manner. A great extension of British influence in Africa was imminent, and with it came the opportunity so much desired.

In 1889 a Royal Charter gave to the British South Africa Company administrative powers over the immense territory extending from the Limpopo towards the north, where it was at first bounded by the Zambezi, but a later concession extended the powers of the company still farther, until its territory extended to the regions of the great central lakes. The chief administrator of the company was the Hon. Cecil Rhodes, at that time Premier in Cape Colony, and he offered on behalf of the company to provide £100 per annum towards the expense of a Wesleyan Missionary in the new Colony. This offer reached the Committee early in 1891, and it was at once resolved to take up missionary work in Mashonaland. There had been some financial relief at home by reduction of the grant made to the South African Conference, and the Committee anticipated an increase of subscriptions in favour of the Mission.

Here, then, was the opening for which Owen Watkins had longed. On July 14 the same year he and Isaac Shimmin crossed the Limpopo, and 'took possession of the regions beyond in the name of Christ and Methodism.' His heart overflowed with emotion. 'I thank God,' he wrote, 'that I have lived to see this day. I feel that Methodism can never

go back, debt or no debt, now that we have entered upon these new lands.' We shall not follow him on his journey. The new venture will be fully before us when we enter upon our account of the Mashonaland Mission. On September 24 he arrived at Salisbury, and on December 3 he was back at Johannesburg. But in this effort he had overtaxed himself, and by the end of December he was at death's door. Happily his life was spared, but it was feared that he would be obliged to leave South Africa. He appeared at the May meetings in London that year, but it was evident that he was in great feebleness. His work in Africa was done. He was succeeded in the Chair of the District by George Weavind. The numerical statistics of the Transvaal Mission at this point are impressive :

| | |
|---|---|
| Missionaries | 22 |
| Local Preachers | 237 |
| Sunday-school Teachers | 301 |
| Fully Accredited Members | 3,539 |
| On Trial for Membership | 1,491 |
| Scholars in Day and Sunday Schools | 5,030 |

Exactly ten years had passed since the formation of the new District, and few, if any, fields have shown so rapid a growth in the first decade of Mission work.

During the first year after the return of Owen Watkins to England George Weavind was appointed ' Acting Chairman,' but in the course of the year it became apparent that the return of the Chairman was not to be expected, and Weavind was confirmed in his appointment. His administration was a fitting complement to that of his predecessor. The somewhat meteoric movement of the one was followed by a quiet consolidation by the other of the work thus begun, and during the early years of the next decade the Church steadily developed. Unhappily its closing years were those of the historic conflict between the two South African Republics and Great Britain. Naturally while that conflict continued aggressive work on the part of Missionaries was at a standstill. Most of their stations were within the theatre of war, and many of our churches were requisitioned for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. Several Missionaries were allowed to remain at their posts, and they shared the hardships involved by doing so with the members of the Church,

but in most cases their service was diverted into other channels.

We shall not enter here upon a discussion of the causes of the war, nor shall we attempt to follow the course of events which led to the final victory of the British and the annexation of the two Republics. We may, however, rejoice in the ultimate issue, now known to every one, and welcome the prospect of a united South Africa within the British Empire, Boer and Briton joining to develop the resources of the wonderful country God has committed to their care.

But we have somewhat anticipated the course of events, and must now return to record the work done during the years that immediately preceded the war. In 1890 the Committee in London had recognized that Delagoa Bay as a Mission station lay within the administration of the Transvaal District. Of Threlfall's experience in that unhealthy country we have already written. After his departure the place remained without a Missionary. It was not until 1893 that another visited the neighbourhood. In that year the new Chairman of the Transvaal District went to Lorenzo Marques, passing through Ermelo, of which place we shall hear again presently. He had the advantage of travelling through the pestiferous belt of country which lies between Delagoa Bay and the uplands by the newly opened railway. He went to see yet another of the many Africans who, unrecognized as Ministers by any Church, have given their lives up to the preaching of the Gospel which had brought new life to them. Robert Mashaba, while on a visit to Port Elizabeth, was converted to God in 1875. He at once set himself to learn all that he could, supporting himself meanwhile by what he could earn. When he had saved enough for the purpose he entered the Lovedale Institution, and quickly proved himself to be an apt and able student. In 1885 he returned to Lorenzo Marques, and at once began to teach and to preach.

His influence among the surrounding heathen was unique, and was acknowledged by all. He continued to serve in this way until the arrival of Weavind, who found that in the eight years he had built a small chapel and a day school, and had gathered together a Christian community of 200 members. He had four Local Preachers and one Class-leader associated with him. Shortly after this visit a rebellion against the

Portuguese Government broke out in the neighbourhood of Mashaba's station. He and his people then withdrew to another place, and Weavind, having heard that the Portuguese were suspicious of Mashaba, and were giving him trouble, thought it advisable to visit him again. Accordingly he went to Lorenzo Marques the second time in 1895, and was relieved to find that the difficulties had turned out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel. He hoped that the trouble would pass, and promised to send a teacher to relieve Mashaba of work in the school so that he might give himself more fully to the work of an evangelist. But the Chairman's hope was not fulfilled. Mashaba was arrested on a charge of complicity with the rebels, and was deported to the Cape Verd Islands, where he was kept a prisoner for six years. The case was brought to the notice of the Foreign Office at Lisbon by the Wesleyan Missionary at Oporto, and through his persistent efforts he was at last released. He returned to his beloved work; and, though the Portuguese still refused to allow him to reside in their territory, he continued to do excellent service on the Witwatersrand and in Swaziland, where he earned the respect of all who knew him. At the time of writing this chapter he is still alive, and is stationed as an African Minister at Heidelberg.

After his arrest an evangelist was sent to carry on his work, and the Church continued to grow. In 1903, though there was a complete lack of regular organization, and though plague and famine had visited the country, there were 51 preaching-places, with 500 members and 700 on probation. In 1901 the Rev. G. Lowe visited the Church, and found that, despite the war, a vigorously aggressive spiritual life had been maintained. Lowe was convinced that, given a European Missionary to guide and direct the Church, there was a great future before it. In 1904 a European Missionary was appointed to this station. There were then more than 850 members, with upwards of 1,000 on probation. It is evident that Methodism had found here a most fruitful soil. A central church, the gift of Alderman Agar, of York, was built, and the promise of further development was great. But the next year was one of extraordinary difficulty. Failure of crop caused many to migrate, and an exceptionally severe visitation of fever meant no less than the depopulation of large

tracts of country. The Church had not fully recovered from the effect of such visitations by the time the Centenary year arrived. In 1907 the outstations of this Circuit extended from the Limpopo River to the Tongaland border, and the one Missionary in charge of this enormous Circuit was an English probationer, the Rev. H. L. Bishop. The service of this Minister in Lorenzo Marques has been long and arduous. He was first appointed to the station in 1906, and except during the time of furlough he remained there until 1914, when his services as a translator of the Scriptures were claimed by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The report of 1892 shows the Transvaal District divided into four sections. The central section was superintended by the Rev. George Weavind, residing at Kilnerton, and with him in Pretoria were the Revs. J. F. Rumfitt and W. J. Underwood. Appelbe, Benson, and Morris were in charge of the English Churches in Johannesburg, where Briscoe, assisted by six African Ministers and evangelists, had charge of the Native work.

In the northern and eastern section Wainman was at Good Hope, while Mowson had charge of Barberton. How rapidly the work had grown may be judged from the fact that in this section alone there were fifteen stations, worked by African Ministers and evangelists. The south-western section was supervised by Lowe at Potchefstroom, and T. F. Watson and John White were also in this section. The fourth section was that of British Bechuanaland, and this was under the direction of Sharp at Mafeking. There was a further division, though this did not belong to the Transvaal and was soon to be formed into a separate District. It is described as 'The Mashonaland Mission,' and in this Isaac Shimmin and G. H. Eva were at work.

The Native work at Johannesburg was one of extraordinary difficulty. Native servants in domestic work needed pastoral care ; there was the great mass of Native labour distributed among the different mines ; and in addition there was abundant work to be found in visiting the kraals in the neighbourhood. But so well was the work done that while in 1890 there were 183 African members, in 1894 there were no less than 856, with more than 500 on probation. It is evident that pastoral work under such conditions as existed on the Rand was

as successful as it was admittedly difficult. Work among the English population was equally well done. There was a strange mingling of tragedy and triumph as the young and eager life that filled the streets of the city became a moral and spiritual wreck, or discovered riches beyond all that 'the Reef' had to give them. Special mention is made in the record of those days of the help given by loyal and zealous laymen in the Church. This is no strange feature in Methodist Missions. The consecration of the laity of the Church to service within the ecclesiastical organization has been a factor of inestimable value on every Mission-field. It is indicative of much in the relations between Methodists and the African tribes among which they moved that about this time the Secretaries at Bishopsgate thought it prudent to issue a warning against hasty and partisan action in pro-Native demonstrations. Remonstrances against oppression, they advised, should first be addressed to responsible authorities, and church buildings should not be used to further any feeling of resentment as between one race and another. Such counsels would never have been sent had not the sympathy of the Methodists in the Transvaal been where the Secretaries themselves would have wished it to be.

Johannesburg was the scene of a great catastrophe in 1896, when an explosion of dynamite in its vicinity was the cause of widespread destruction. Buildings were levelled to the ground and the loss of life was considerable, though under certain circumstances it might have been much greater than it was. The chapels at Fordsburg and other places near the scene of the explosion were wrecked. The case of Fordsburg was particularly hard, as the buildings had only recently been completed, and the members of the Church were poor. Ministers' houses, too, were destroyed, and though happily their inmates were uninjured, their loss in property was very great. The feeling in Johannesburg may be gauged by the fact that within a few hours of the explosion tens of thousands of pounds were subscribed for the relief of the sufferers. In spite of this disaster the work of the Church continued and increased every year. The single Circuit of Johannesburg was now divided into three, with three Ministers in each, and this enabled the Ministers to reach the more distant mines. Chapels and other preaching-places sprang up with amazing

rapidity. The Native Mission on the Rand covered a greater area than the English work, and the unlimited opportunity for proclaiming the Gospel of Christ to the thousands of Africans who had come from all parts of South Africa could never have been accepted as it was but for the self-denying and enthusiastic service of Local Preachers, both English and African. The part played by these men in the building up of the Methodist Church in the Transvaal can never be forgotten.

About this time the difficulties confronting the Christian Missionary became more than ever acute. They were both political and moral. The racial antagonism of the Boers tended continually to increase, and we have already seen what their collective attitude was to any attempt in the direction of evangelizing the Native tribes. But the moral difficulty was even greater. The feverish excitement which always attends the quest for gold found a fatal expression in gambling which brought many to ruin, while its invariable concomitant, intemperance, made that ruin the more complete. Against such evils the Missionaries contended manfully, earning, by doing so, the honourable execrations of those who battened on evil. In this connexion an incident may be mentioned here, though it belongs to a period after the war. In July, 1906, the Rev. G. Maddison came upon a group of Kafirs assaulting a European with the purpose of robbing him. In trying to succour his fellow countrymen Maddison himself was so severely wounded that he died in the hospital to which he was carried. From the condemned cell of his murderers there was sent to the Synod a message which should move the heart of the Church in England as it did that of the assembled Synod. The unhappy men, who were on the eve of paying with their lives the penalty of their crime, declared that it had been committed while they were under the influence of drink, and they implored the Synod to take steps to make it impossible for white men to supply Natives with liquor. So here again we meet with the problem which confronts those who seek the salvation of Africa's many millions. As we have seen in an earlier chapter of this volume,[1] it was reserved for the League of Nations to lay down in 1919 a rule which should have been accepted many years before. Maddi-

[1] See p. 198.

son had been in the home work for some years before he responded to an appeal for volunteers from the ranks of the ministry to join the staff of Missionaries in the Transvaal. He had not completed his second year in the District when he met with his untimely death.

This was not the only martyrdom in the history of Methodism in the Transvaal. On April 28, 1899, the wife of the Rev. R. F. Appelbe (daughter of Mr. John Holden, of Folkestone) whose work in Mafeking we have already described, was attacked in the streets of Johannesburg by cowardly ruffians, and was so injured that she died a few days after the attack. A communication from the Colonial Office reported as follows: 'There can be little doubt that the outrage is an act of deliberate revenge on the part of liquor dealers for efforts made by the Ministers to expose their nefarious trade.' Mrs. Appelbe was a lady whom to know was to love. Her home was always open to friendless and lonely exiles, and her cheerfulness and sympathy were the breath of life to those who were all but stifled in the moral atmosphere of a great mining centre. She was constant in her service for the Church she loved, and never was an assassin's blow more cruel or more unjust. It was common knowledge that the illicit liquor selling was in the hands of Russian or Polish Jews of a specially low class, and scores of places where drink could be obtained were set up in close proximity to the mines, thousands of Natives being daily stupefied by the raw and inferior spirits served to them in these dens of iniquity. The police seem to have been, if not in collusion, quite incapable of dealing with this abominable trade carried on in defiance of the law.

To return to our chronicle of events prior to the war, in the outlying Circuits as well as in Johannesburg there was steady increase. Circuits such as Mafeking and Potchefstroom were seriously affected by sundry plagues. Cattle were stricken down by rinderpest, and the fields were stripped bare by myriads of locusts, while epidemics of fever swept over a suffering humanity. The political unrest of the time also had a disquieting effect upon many. It was apparent that a crisis of some sort was imminent, and this conviction, held by many, was prejudicial to the interests of the work in general. Nevertheless, in spite of all these adverse circumstances, the

numerical returns for 1898 are very impressive. There were in that year 8,794 fully accredited members in the District, with 3,506 on trial for full membership. Large numbers appear in the returns from the Waterberg Mission. This had been begun by Isaac Shimmin in 1885, and while the area indicated by the phrase was as extensive as the county of Yorkshire there was no station sufficiently prominent for it to become a centre. It was not until the farm afterwards called 'Olverton' was purchased that the Christian people in this area found a locality in which they could gather together and build up the Church of God. But Olverton was soon left behind as far as numbers are concerned, far larger Churches being formed at Makapan Stad and Kollerfontein.

The whole of this intensely interesting and progressive field of work was suddenly cut off from observation by the war that began in 1899. From that year until 1902 no reports were possible, and only such descriptive accounts as individual Missionaries were able to send to England were published. Morris remained at Johannesburg, and H. W. Goodwin at Pretoria. Morgan was at Heidelberg and Titcomb at Middelburg, while Rolland was at Pietersburg until he removed to Johannesburg. Other Missionaries would have remained to share the fortunes of such relics of their former congregations as were able to meet together, but they were summarily expelled, and apparently without a word of explanation, to say nothing of justification. G. H. Eva, who was at Ermelo when war broke out, was one of these, and in *Work and Workers* he gives a vivid account of his compelled removal, and of the hardships entailed by himself and his wife, then in delicate health. Several African Ministers remained at their posts of duty, and it is through these and through the devout men and women who, shepherdless, tended the flock, that the Methodist Church in the Transvaal was able to maintain such continuity of service as was possible. Faithfully they guarded the sacred fire, until with the restoration of peace it broke once more into a flame, burning the more brightly by reason of that which had threatened its extinction.

In the discontinuance of all Synods during the years of war the Missionary Committee at home could do nothing but republish the returns of 1898, and it must have been with an anxious heart that they waited for the lifting of this grim curtain

of war and the report of the Synod of 1902. This latter showed that while there was, as might have been expected, a decrease in the number of chapels, several of which had been destroyed, and in that of subordinate agencies of the Church, there was an increase in membership of 524, or nearly six per cent. The number of children in the schools was of course considerably less than in 1898, but in all other respects the Church had more than held the ground it had gained, and the secret of life was still in its possession. The Synod, in its report, speaks of the comparative ease with which the Church had recovered from the terrible experiences of three years of war. This was shown by the fact that ' during only a part of the year 1902, after the general resumption of our services, the free-will offerings of our congregations amounted to more than £15,500.' With a fearless recognition of the immense responsibilities of the immediate future it girded itself for increased effort.

> Our love for the commonwealth must approve itself by incessant efforts for the public good. At the beginning of this new time we must show once more that a living practical evangelical Christianity is the mightiest and best of all social forces. Amid much criticism on the right hand and on the left we must go steadily forward. We still believe that in the fearless exposition and application of the great ethical principles of the New Testament men will find the complete, the most consistent, indeed the only solution of the great Native question which will more and more engage the attention of all thoughtful people. As in the past, so in the future, we shall everywhere preach the duty and the dignity of honest work. We shall proclaim industry to be a shining Christian virtue. At the same time we shall declare in the most certain tone that the man who works must have secured to him the due rewards and fruits of his labour.

That is a worthy pronouncement of the Church confronting a new age, and it is easy to see where it detected the dominant issue of that age.

During the course of the war Weavind returned to England, and the Rev. G. Lowe was appointed as ' Acting Chairman.' The Committee at Bishopsgate Street had to consider whether it would not be of advantage to appoint to the Chair of a District beginning a quite new chapter of its history a Minister of experience in Methodist organization as it was known in England, and one who would approach the problem of the Transvaal with an unbiassed mind. They decided eventually

to send out as Chairman the Rev. Amos Burnet, and that decision was abundantly justified by the results that followed. Weavind returned to South Africa, and it is to his credit that he continued to serve under the new Chairman with perfect loyalty. He was appointed first to Mafeking and afterwards to Pretoria, where he died in May, 1916, after having given the whole of his ministerial life to the service of the Church in Africa. He was conspicuous for fidelity, and for the grace that enabled him to be wholly unselfish in his service.

The year that passed between the one administration and the other was marked by an ' official visit ' from the Secretariat. It was natural, if not imperatively necessary, that such a visit should be paid at this juncture, and such visits are always eagerly anticipated on the field so visited. The Secretary gains much by coming face to face with local difficulties, which often present a quite different complexion from that which they have when seen thousands of miles away, while the Missionaries receive an inestimable encouragement and impulse in realizing that their contact with the administrative centre is immediate, personal, and sympathetic. Such visits, too, have often led at once to far-reaching consequences, as, for instance, did that of the Rev. John Kilner immediately before the formation of the South African Conference. The visit of the Rev. Marshall Hartley to the Transvaal in 1902, it was hoped, would lead, if not to similar results, at least to a clearer knowledge of the Methodist position in the Transvaal at the close of the war, when the different Circuits up and down the country were preparing to make a fresh start. This result was certainly attained, but the visit suffered from one serious defect. It was begun and ended within the space of four weeks. Obviously in so short a time, and under the restrictions imposed by martial law, the Secretary could not do more than visit one or two of the main centres of work. The important Circuits on the circumference remained unvisited, and the work among the many African tribes did not come within his purview, save in so far as he was able to see what was being done in and around Johannesburg and Pretoria. Mr. Hartley felt keenly the disadvantage of this limitation, and advised the Committee on his return that a second and more extended visit ought to be paid in the near future. The object of his visit was mainly to deal with financial and

economic aspects of the work. He was nevertheless sufficiently impressed with the vast area over which missionary operations extended, and with the greatness of the opportunity before the Methodist Church. He suggested that within a few years the District might with advantage be divided, and that the two Districts thus formed might unite with the District in Rhodesia in a Provincial Synod. The need of a faithful adherence to Methodist polity and administration was also apparent. He recommended that seven new men be sent out at once. Five of these were required to fill vacancies in the staff, and one was to take up English work in Pretoria, where support was guaranteed. The seventh was to be sent to Delagoa Bay, which, he quite rightly observed, ought not to be left in the hands of unsuperintended Native agents. Failing this last appointment, he advised that the Society should give up the work at Delagoa Bay, deplorable though it would be to do so. With reference to the European Ministers in the District, he greatly desired to secure a longer term of service on the part of some, and he hoped that some provision in the way of schools for Ministers' children might be made in the Transvaal with a view to securing a greater continuity of service.

## II

## THE PROOF OF FAITH MORE PRECIOUS THAN GOLD

Amos Burnet—The Native Ministry—Finances—Wesley Deaconesses—A Tour of the District—Pretoria—Kilnerton—The Barolongs—The Zoutpansberg and Good Hope Mission—Pietersburg—The Mission to the Swazies—Ermelo—The Native Land Bill—Statistics.

THE way was now open for the coming of the new Chairman, and on November 17, 1902, a public reception was given to the Rev. Amos Burnet on his assuming the Chairmanship of the Transvaal and Swaziland District. This was more than a gathering of Methodists to welcome their new chief. Representatives of different civic departments and Ministers from other Churches were present, and the High Commissioner, Lord Milner, as well as the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Arthur Lawley, attended and accorded Mr. Burnet a hearty welcome to his new sphere of work. Such a gathering spoke volumes for the place which Methodism had won in the communal life of the State, and while the hopes and wishes expressed pointed to the future, the meeting itself spoke eloquently of the past.

Amos Burnet brought to his new and onerous task personal qualifications of no mean order. As a Missionary in India he had studied the many problems arising from inter-racial relations, and had shown not only a mental grasp of the issues involved but also the greatest tact and wisdom in dealing with them. He was a close student of public affairs, and was quick to see when moral and spiritual principles favoured or forbade any proposal brought forward. An excellent speaker, he always dealt at once with the question at issue, and his strong common sense and a happy freedom from all tricks of oratory usually carried conviction. Perhaps his greatest talent lay in Church administration. During the interval between his leaving India and coming to South Africa he had given many indications of this, and it was generally felt that a better appointment could scarcely have been made

in the interests of a Church which had found so rapid an efflorescence, and which now needed the patience of wisest culture if the ripe fruit was to be gathered. In this last decade of the missionary century the Methodist Church in the Transvaal was to advance far beyond the point which it had reached when the war threatened to bring its many activities to a close, and the Committee felt how acute was the crisis before the Church. The Rev. F. W. Macdonald, at that time one of the Secretaries at Bishopsgate, wrote :

> Our brethren in the Transvaal and Rhodesia have a great and noble task assigned them in laying the foundations of Christian Church life in a new Commonwealth, where many races meet and where the opportunities for good and for evil are on the largest scale.

Burnet was quick to see the salient point of his new enterprise. He saw that success or failure turned—as it does in all Mission-fields—upon the adequacy of Native ministry, and one of the first things he took in hand was to bring all the evangelists together for the study of right methods of work, for instruction —sorely needed—in Methodist discipline, and for the deepening of their devotional life. In 1905 he writes :

> Our Native brethren excel in evangelistic zeal. . . . As a result of their labour new openings for Missions have become perplexing in their multiplicity. . . . We must secure a growth in knowledge which shall keep pace with fervour. Some of our larger Circuits are becoming unwieldy, and our Native people are exposed to many dangers arising out of the rapid spread of a civilization which they imperfectly understand. The effectiveness of our European oversight must be increased, or the near future will bring dangers which will calamitously affect our work. The further training of our Native agents is also imperative.

In administration he was prompt in assigning to the African Ministers the full status to which by Methodist constitution they were entitled. They took their place in the Synod, and worthily upheld in the councils of the Church the tradition of their order. Their fidelity had been fully proved, and their intellectual powers were considerable. Many of them were preachers of outstanding ability, and were held in respect not only by their fellow tribesmen, but by their European brethren in the ministry of Christ. It was a wise decision of the Conference which set the Chairman of this great District

free from Circuit work that he might devote all his energies to the administration of the Church. This was done in 1906.

In 1907 the financial condition of the Transvaal District became exceedingly critical. Before the war churches and other buildings had been erected at a time when building material was costly, and many of these were burdened with debt. When war broke out in 1899 all local income for defraying debt, or for meeting the interest due, came to an end, though expenditure on upkeep continued. The accumulated interest alone reached a formidable figure by the close of the war, while the depression in trade which followed made the outlook to be more than gloomy. Under such circumstances the Missionary Committee proposed to set aside for the Transvaal the sum of £10,000 provided that an equal amount was raised in that District. But even the total of £20,000 was insufficient, and after anxious consultation it was resolved to start a 'Million Shillings Fund.' Within a year the sum of £11,000 was raised, and the final amount brought into the treasury of the Church was £18,500. This, added to the amount voted in England, undoubtedly saved the District from financial collapse. A great wave of generous appreciation of the blessings received through the Gospel swept over the people, and with it there came a spiritual uplift and a renewal of personal consecration which deepened the whole life of the Church. There followed a period in which an extraordinary extension of 'plant' took place. Churches for English and Africans sprang up in all directions. Places of worship which through disuse or owing to the wastage of war were out of repair were renovated and restored. Houses for Missionaries and for African Ministers were built, until in some form or other the Methodist Church was represented in nearly every town of any dimensions within the Transvaal. In more remote districts scores of places for worship were erected by the people themselves, and each humblest structure spoke of the love of those who worshipped within them for their Lord and Saviour, while they enabled the worshippers to realize the fellowship of the Christian Church. The report of 1905 shows an increase of 61 chapels and of 36 other places of worship, while the aggregate increase was even greater in the year that followed. The centre of this great outburst of life was Johannesburg. In 1904 the total membership

within the three Circuits in the city was 728, but in 1905 that number was increased to 1,165. The Native Churches on the Rand show a similar development. In 1904 the membership stood at 2,309; in the following year it had increased by 412, but in the latter year the number on probation for full membership was 1,010. The Missionaries wisely made the period of probation long—in many cases it extended over three or four years—so that only those who had proved the reality of their faith might enter into the fellowship of the Church. We need not continue the record of annual increment; suffice it to say that in the Centenary year the Church membership in Johannesburg alone amounted to upwards of 1,100 English and more than 2,600 Natives, while of the latter there were more than 1,100 passing through their period of probation. Turning to finance we find that the results are almost startling. In 1908 Mr. Burnet[1] states that nine-tenths of the support of the whole Native agency in the District was contributed locally, and in a single year the Class-money in the Witwatersrand Native Circuit reached the sum of £1,000, while an addtional £237 was raised in the same Circuit to further Mission work among heathen tribes.

But no statistics of chapel-building or of finance can compare in importance with the never-to-be-tabulated moral and spiritual attainments of the living Church. To speak of these in hasty and unqualified superlatives would deceive no one, and would be quite contrary to the ready admission of all Missionaries that often their hearts are sorely grieved by moral failure on the part of those who professed too easily their allegiance to Christ. In this connexion we may refer to a frank and outspoken article by the Rev. G. H. Eva in the *Foreign Field* (1908). He speaks of the inadequate qualifications of some who sought the office of a Local Preacher. Then he goes on to say:

> It is seldom that I have to discipline a member for breaking any regulation of the Church, or for not attending at Class, or for non-payment of class moneys. Reverent behaviour in Church and abstinence from intoxicating liquors are almost invariable. Discipline, when it is required, is called for in nine cases out of ten in connexion with morality. There are no people more sincere and earnest and wishful to do right than our Natives, but they need direction and training to

[1] *A Mission to the Transvaal*, p. 106.

learn the principles of the Law and the Gospel, and especially the nature and the awfulness of sin. . . . The Native Races Commission said, and said rightly, that 'the hope for the elevation of the Native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals,' and the only way to bring this about is by a process of patient instruction. Hurried, casual, occasional admonition is not sufficient; there must be systematic and definite training.

The fact is, as we have been taught, that growth is as rapid as it is feeble in shallow soil, and many were the prayers offered by those at work for a deepening of the work of grace in the hearts of their hearers. After all, the religious life of the Church is much the same in Africa as it is in England; but when we consider that the Kafir Christian has no tradition of a Christian home, that prior to his conversion his life was purely animal, and that its outstanding features were those of sensuality, greed, and craftiness, and also that they often found the same things in the white man for whom they worked, the wonder is that so many seem to rise at a bound to the higher levels of Christian experience and character. For, let there be no mistake, in hundreds of cases that is what they have done, and the annals of any Church may be scanned in vain for truer examples of those who have 'adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.' Illustrations of this may be found even in the restricted record which is all that our pages allow.

A notable addition to the Mission agents at work in Johannesburg was made in 1898, when two Wesley Deaconesses were sent to take up work in that city. Two others joined them in 1905, and their services were greatly appreciated from the first. The report speaks of their gracious ministry as 'a boon beyond all praise.' In a country where so many are to be found who have cut themselves off from all the associations of their home life, the tender ministry of a woman may come with an appeal far greater than that of a sermon.

We must turn now from that marvellous hive of human life and industry which we call 'Johannesburg' to consider the other Circuits of the District. Speaking generally, we shall find much the same features of Church life in them as we have found on the Rand: a white population rightly claiming and receiving the ministry of the Church, and a black population bringing to the Missionary the happy embarrassment of men

crowding into the Kingdom of Christ. It will give clearness to our record if we abandon a strictly chronological scheme and consider each Circuit separately.

Pretoria has been, so far as population, industry, and the general ebb and flow of life are concerned, completely eclipsed by Johannesburg. It still remains, however, the seat of Government, and it boasts the possession of imposing buildings in which the work of State administration is carried on. In the ordinary conveniences of modern life it leaves little to be desired. Its supply of light and water and other necessaries for comfort is excellent. It is the meeting-point of the lines of rail which run from Cape Town, Natal, and Delagoa Bay, and there is every prospect of a great increase in industrial undertakings in its neighbourhood. The town was visited, as we have already recorded, by William Wynne, who came there from Potchefstroom, and from that time Mission work was carried on with fluctuating success. But in 1884 a step was taken which immensely increased the importance of this station from a missionary point of view. This was the purchase of a large 'farm,' or area of land, measuring 5,000 acres. This was done with a view to providing a suitable centre for work among the Kafirs and a local habitation where Christians might live and work. The name 'Kilnerton' was given to the farm, and it lies about five miles to the east of Pretoria. The purchase price was £1,500, of which the late Mr. T. Morgan Harvey contributed two-thirds. Other similar settlements in favour of Native work were afterwards made at Good Hope and Uitkyk.

In 1885 it was decided that the educational work begun at Potchefstroom should be transferred to this locality, and Kilnerton thus became the educational centre of the Transvaal Mission. We shall see presently how fully it has justified its claim to that position. At the same time its original purpose has not been ignored, for a considerable number of Christian people settled here. The Native membership of the Church, however, has risen slowly and with fluctuations. In 1885 there were 13 members on the Church roll, and in 1905 the number had risen to 40. But it is not as a Church with an imposing membership that Kilnerton attracts attention. Its importance lies rather in this—that it offers great educational advantages to those who will be the strength of the

Church in days to come. Its inception was modest. Fourteen students were reported in 1887 as being trained for the work of a teacher in Mission schools. The Chairman, Owen Watkins, was then the Missionary in charge of the work, and his frequent absence on tour did not make for a rapid development of the institution. For a long time operations were greatly hindered from lack of funds for carrying on the work, as well as from the difficulty of awaking in the mind of the Kafir a right appreciation of education. But in this latter a welcome change soon made itself felt, and the rapidity with which the Native Church increased was another factor in compelling attention to the training of teachers and other agents. In 1892 George Weavind was appointed to take charge of the institution, but he, like his predecessor, was fully occupied with administrative work, and the number of students increased very slowly. He was followed in 1902 by the Rev. C. W. Mowson, but it was not until 1904 that Kilnerton began to develop as the needs of the Church demanded that it should. In that year the Rev. F. J. Briscoe was appointed to the institution, and in 1913 he was still in charge. Continuity of service, always a first necessity in such a department, was thus secured, but the devotion and ability of the Missionary must also be allowed for, and these conspired to make Kilnerton a most valuable element in the Church life of the Transvaal Mission. From the date of the appointment of Mr. Briscoe the institution was constantly being enlarged. Not only did it train teachers and evangelists, but it also provided a general education for Native youths who sought a better education than that afforded in the elementary day schools. An industrial section was a further addition. For such advantages students were quite prepared to pay school fees, and in 1909 these amounted to £700. Different tribes were represented in the institution thus enlarged, and while instruction was given in English, on Sundays no less than five languages were used in the classes held for Bible study. It was no mean privilege to be admitted to Kilnerton. Students were selected on the recommendation of the Superintendents of Circuits, and they bound themselves to serve in Mission schools for three years after the completion of their training.

By this time the value of the institution began to appear in the Circuits, as more and more the schools of the District

passed into the hands of trained teachers. In 1907 the institution was still further enlarged by the provision of accommodation and training for girls, of whom forty were at once admitted. Miss Lilian Burnet, the daughter of the Chairman, was appointed to this department, in which she laboured with marked ability and success. In 1911 there were 219 students on the rolls, and the excellence of their training is to be seen in this—that out of 76 students who presented themselves for the Government examination 50 succeeded in obtaining the certificate. A most useful practising-school was afforded by a primary department, this part of the work being under the direction of Mr. J. C. Johns. This great and many-sided development has made Kilnerton the foremost institution of its kind in the Transvaal, and its value as a Mission agency can scarcely be overestimated. The provision of the necessary buildings for the Kilnerton Institution, and also for other parts of the District in which chapels and Ministers' houses were in great demand, might have been an insuperable difficulty, but the need was met from Kilnerton itself. The large area comprising the 'farm' had been purchased by Owen Watkins as a refuge for Kafir Christians in days when, under the Boer régime, Kafirs were not allowed to hold property. So large a site was not now required for the purpose, and the chairman was authorized to sell a portion of it which the Government was anxious to acquire. Meantime the value of land had risen enormously, and by parting with a mere moiety of the estate a large sum of money was realized. Extensions both at Kilnerton and elsewhere were for the future financed from this fund, and since 1906, when the transaction took place, the Transvaal has been entirely self-supporting in the matter of the acquisition of Mission property. Kilnerton has thus proved to be a most valuable acquisition, but its supreme value is to be seen, not in the funds of the Church, but in the institution which every year sends out its students to be teachers and evangelists to their own countrymen.

In Pretoria itself the Church has shared in the development characteristic of the work throughout the District. When war broke out in 1899 there was only one Church in Pretoria, with a membership of 226, the English Church members numbering 68. This would be approximately the state of affairs when in 1903 the new chapter in the history of the

Mission was begun. In 1908 there were 558 members in the Native Church, and in 1913 there were more than 1,000.

The second Circuit to come before us is that of Mafeking. We have traced the history of this Circuit up to the time when Appelbe left it to take up work in Johannesburg. He was followed at Mafeking by the Rev. A. S. Sharp, and two years after an extraordinary increase took place, the membership rising in a single year from 395 to 689. That this was no indiscriminate admission of members is shown by the fact that no less than 233 remained on probation. From the year 1892 the increase of the Church has been marked and continuous. The seed sown by Broadbent and Hodgson at Thaba Nchu, tenderly and faithfully nurtured as it was by Molema and Appelbe and others, was now coming to full fruition. In 1896 the number had reached 1,000, and in 1911 that number was doubled again. In 1913 the number stood at 2,224, with more than 700 on probation. There were 1,000 children in the schools, and 5,000 adherents to the Church. The Missionaries to whom this joy of harvest was given were, in addition to those already mentioned, the Revs. W. O. Barratt and J. Currey. When the Centenary year was reached the Rev. G. Rolland, assisted by three African Ministers, had charge of the Native Church. The part that Mafeking played in the war need not be recalled in these pages. The Barolong tribe remained the staunch and trusted allies of the British throughout those memorable years, and in the year that followed the declaration of peace 280 were added to the Church. After the war Mafeking became a great railway centre, as it was the point from which the line started for Rhodesia and the north. In 1906 it became necessary to appoint another Minister to work among those who were employed on this extension of the railway. The Rev. S. J. Rogers was thus appointed, and the English membership in his first year stood at the number 63. It has never gone much above that figure. After the war increased attention was given to a community which, in Africa, as in other countries, occupies a position of its own, and demands the sympathy and consideration of all right-thinking men. It is made up of those who are of mixed racial parentage, and both at Mafeking and at Johannesburg and other centres a special return of 'Coloured Members' began to appear in the annual reports, indicating that the Church

in its zeal for the British and the African had not failed to care for those who in one way are more needy than either.

In the Zoutpansberg Circuit we have seen how, through the devotion of Samuel Mathabathe, the Methodist Church came to this northern district of the Transvaal, and how the sorely persecuted members of that Church were driven into exile, but found a home at last in the Good Hope Settlement and were placed under the pastoral care of the Rev. G. Lowe. This was in 1885. Seven years after, when the Mission to Mashonaland had been sanctioned by the Missionary Committee, the importance of this station was greatly increased. It was seen that it formed a most important link between Pretoria and Salisbury, and that it lay on the only line by which the Methodist Church could move on to that 'magnetic pole'—the heart of Africa in the far north. There was another route from Mafeking through the northern regions of Bechuanaland, but as that district was covered by the London Missionary Society, the 'comity of Missions' forbade any extension of Methodism in that direction.

In 1892 the Rev T. H. Wainman was the Missionary appointed to the Zoutpansberg Circuit, and in an important communication to the home Committee he reveals at once the difficulty and the promise of his far-extended Circuit. It was cut into two sections by the Olifant River, the Lydenburg section lying to the south, and being, so far as political administration was concerned, a separate division of the State. Now the Olifant River for several months of the year is impassable, and therefore a ministerial visit to the Lydenburg section could be made at most only twice in the year. With a Native Church only just emerging from barbarism such visits were utterly insufficient, and Wainman felt keenly the difficulties of his situation. In the opposite direction, too, there were difficulties. Close to the Limpopo River was the Blauberg district, where thousands of people seemed ready to enter the Christian Church. Their chiefs were eager for instruction, and a little Church came quickly into being. But this most promising field could be visited only once in the twelve months, and the Missionary's heart was heavy with disappointment that he could not garner the abundant harvest ready to hand. Wainman's proposed solution lacked nothing in boldness. It was to the effect that this section of the Transvaal be

constituted a separate District, and that two young Missionaries be sent out to help the Chairman of the District so constituted to work his extended 'Diocese.' There was much to be said in favour of such a scheme, but obviously the adoption of it would have entailed a considerable addition to the financial burden which weighed so heavily at Bishopsgate. In the seven years which had elapsed since Lowe was first appointed to Good Hope the number of members had increased from 73 to 203, and it was evident that a still further increase might be confidently expected if sufficient teachers and preachers had been forthcoming. Since 1892 the growth of the Church has been continuous. In 1913 there were 663 members, with 377 on probation for membership. By that time the Circuit had been divided, and in 1896 the Rev. T. F. Watson was put in charge of the Lydenburg section, taking up his residence at Pilgrim's Rest. This town, our readers will remember, had been the scene of the service of the Rev. G. Blencowe, who came here in 1874 to take up work among the miners. Those were the days in which men hoped to find alluvial deposits of the precious metal, and at one time some five thousand men were on the ground. The hope of finding alluvial gold was short-lived, and the miners left as suddenly as they had come. The station was abandoned, and was not reoccupied until Watson's arrival. By that time it had been seen that there was indeed gold in the district, but that it was embedded in quartz. Mines were opened and mills set up, and miners began to return. Watson's appointment had been made possible through the generous help of one of the members in the Church at Pretoria. A little church was quickly put up for the miners, and work among the Natives was begun. Large numbers of these reside in the neighbourhood, and 125 were meeting in Class in 1913. The appointment of a Missionary in this region made it possible for more frequent visits to be paid to Lydenburg, where the Missionary always found a large congregation of white folk eager to join once more in worship. Such services must have meant more than can be put into words to the crowd of men cut off from all Church life, and exposed to the perils of residing in the midst of those into whose ideals that of a moral life can scarcely ever have entered. Sometimes, too, in such remote regions devoted Methodists were found

who in spite of their isolation remained loyal both to Christ and to the Church they loved. To these the occasional service must often have brought a refreshment beyond all price.

Before we leave this Circuit there is yet another story for which we must find room. North of Good Hope lies Pietersburg, where we now have an English Minister and a Native Church, but some forty or fifty miles north-west of Pietersburg is a tract of country inhabited by not less than fifteen thousand persons. In 1905 the Rev. G. Rolland determined to begin work among these, and called for volunteers. His appeal was answered by two members of the Good Hope Church. Both were Local Preachers and Class-leaders, and enjoyed the comforts of a settled life, but they left their homes and departed to take up work where the conditions of life were those of barbarism. Three weeks after the Missionary went to visit them, and found that they had already gathered a little company together, and with great simplicity but with fervent zeal were unfolding to them the unsearchable riches of God in Christ Jesus, while their own daughters, who had accompanied them, gathered the children together in a little school which they opened. The picture drawn by Rolland is not easily put out of the mind. The little round hut ; the company of uncouth and all but naked Kafirs ; and in their midst the two patient Christian men, with hearts filled with the love of Christ, singing the songs of Zion, while the dim light lit up the dark faces. It is in such wise that the Church in the Transvaal is able to record its amazing growth. We have inserted this picture because it rounds off and completes the history of the Good Hope Settlement. The stages of development are distinct. We begin with Samuel Mathabathe, standing in a crowd of Kafirs like himself, listening to the preaching of James Allison in Natal. Then we have the little flock in the Zoutpansberg country persecuted by their kinsfolk and finally driven out as exiles, but holding fast to the truths they had received. There follows the settlement at Good Hope, and regular instruction in the things that belong to the kingdom of God ; and now, last of all, the spirit of Jesus is revealed in these men leaving their homes to dwell among a wild and barbarous people, while with gentleness and love they make known to them their Father in heaven.

The chain is complete, and every link is of pure gold stronger than steel. There is certain to be a sequel to this story, and its main outline may be guessed. A significant hint is given us in the report of 1913, where it is said, 'The chiefs of the Blauberg District have asked for a Missionary to work among seventy-five thousand Natives.'

Continuing our round of visits, we come to Sekhukhuniland—a name which in earlier reports appeared as 'Secocoeniland.' This is situated between the Olifant and Steelport rivers, and covers an area of twelve hundred square miles. A Circuit was started here in 1904 and the Rev. G. C. Moseley was appointed to it. It is estimated that forty thousand people belonging to different tribes reside within its boundaries, and this Circuit, together with that of Zoutpansberg, which adjoins it, is expected to show a large accession to the Church in the near future. Although it is one of the latest Circuits established in the District there were in 1913 11 chapels and 25 other places of worship. The membership was returned as standing at 458, with 86 on trial for membership.

Swaziland covers an area of eight thousand square miles, and contains a population of sixty thousand. This section of the District is one in which the numerical increase of the Church has not been so marked as it has been in the Transvaal. We have seen that it was in Swaziland that James Allison began work at Mahamba, and against the comparatively slow growth of the Church must always be placed the Christian devotion and the marked efficiency of those who belong by birth to Swaziland. The apparent causes of a hesitating response to the appeal of the Gospel have been twofold. Those parts of the field in which there appeared the prospect of immediate fruit naturally had the first call upon the restricted number of Missionaries and other agents. In 1894, when a Missionary was wanted for this country, the depressing answer received from England was that one could not be sent. But probably the chief reason is to be found in the political distractions of the Swazis. Always menaced on the one side by the formidable military power of the Zulus, they were exposed on the other to the attempts of the Boers to get possession of their land. Later on, when rumours of gold to be obtained in this region were common, their country was overrun with prospectors, all of whom sought for concessions of one kind

and another. These concessions had afterwards to be the object of inquiry on the part of a Commission appointed in 1889. This was followed by a Convention agreed to by the Boers and the British in which the independence of the Swazis was confirmed. As things are at present, while the nominal authority is vested in the Native Government the real power is to be found in the British Resident. In 1910 a final settlement of the land question was made, and it is hoped that the period of suspicion and resentment has now passed, and that under more peaceful conditions the advance of the Church in this district may be more rapid. The first returns of membership appear in the report for the year 1883, when there were 9 members at Mahamba under the pastoral care of Daniel Msimang. In 1893 there were 130, and ten years later there were 1,243, with 757 on trial. In 1913 the number returned was 783, but a division of the Circuit had been made, which accounts for the apparent decrease. The growth of the Church, as we have said, does not compare with that of other Circuits, but an abundant harvest, and one of outstanding quality, may be confidently expected in Swaziland.

Barberton is a Circuit which has known startling vicissitudes. In 1886 there was a sudden rush of miners to this neighbourhood on its becoming known that gold had been found there. That year saw a population of white men numbering nine thousand in and about Barberton itself. There were many calls for a Missionary, and the Rev. W. J. Underwood was sent there. He found that a little chapel had already been built by the expectant people, and that there was then a declared membership of 50. The organization of a Methodist Circuit was quickly set up, and, save for a grant from England for plant, the Circuit was self-supporting. But gold was not to be found in Barberton in the quantity expected, and when the discovery of the gold-field on the Rand was made the population disappeared as quickly as it had come. In 1889 only two thousand were left. Underwood was followed by J. G. Benson in 1890; and other Missionaries, such as C. W. Mowson, T. C. Whitney, and S. H. Hardy, worked in this Circuit for short spells. The membership continued to be small, and it was not until after the war, when W. T. Goodwin was appointed to take charge of the Native work, and to act as military chaplain to the troops in occupation, that a change

for the better took place. The English membership continued to be small, but the Native members increased in a single year (1906) from 30 to 112. From that time there had been a small but constant increase each year up to 1913, when we find the Rev. G. Douthwaite in charge of the Circuit, which returned a membership of 231, with over 200 on trial. In 1906 the Minister then in the Circuit—the Rev. S. J. Hawkey—came upon yet another instance of the seed growing secretly, for in a village that had never been visited by either European or African Minister he discovered a little company of people who had been brought to a knowledge of Christ through the ministry of one of their number. There are those who prophesy a brighter industrial future for Barberton, and gold may yet be found there in sufficient quantity to attract a larger population. Meantime the Methodist cause has been steadily maintained, and, whatever changes the future may bring, those who come will find present the ministry of the Christian Church ready to meet their need.

In 1893 George Weavind passed through Ermelo on his way to Delagoa Bay. In Ermelo he found a number of Europeans who greatly desired the appointment of a Missionary to lead their worship. Quite two hundred gathered together on the rare opportunity of joining in Christian worship on the Sunday that Weavind spent in this town, but the community was a scattered one, and there was a more urgent demand from other centres for Missionaries who might be available. No appointment could be made at that time, but Weavind was delighted to find that work among the Natives was being carried on by a Local Preacher who had come to Ermelo in search of occupation. Such work was not done except ' at a price.' In 1895 the Landrost issued an order that all Natives should be in their homes by 8 p.m., the hour previously observed being nine. One of the little band of Methodists hurrying home a few minutes late one night was caught. He was ordered to pay a fine of ten shillings, and received ten lashes by way of further punishment. He still continued to attend, and the incident reveals a spirit in the little Church coming into being at Ermelo which promised much. Ermelo appears in the report for 1896 as a Circuit under the care of a Native evangelist, and in 1898 it was incorporated with Swaziland Mission under the charge of the Rev. G. H. Eva. There were

then 89 members, of whom as many as 12 were Local Preachers. In 1898 a little chapel was built for the use of Europeans, and it is interesting to note that Jews and Germans, Boers and British, contributed towards this provision for their spiritual comfort and encouragement. But Eva's Circuit must have been an exceedingly difficult one to work. It covered an area of something between twenty and thirty thousand square miles. It was situated at the south-east corner of the Transvaal and extended far into Swaziland. The growth of the Church in this Circuit has been remarkable. In 1903 there were fully 1,000 members on the Church roll, and in 1913 the three divisions, which by that time had been made, contained an aggregate of close upon 1,600, with as many on trial for membership. The Local Preachers had increased in number from 12 to 186. Since the Centenary year this increase has continued.

Our round of inspection brings us at last to Potchefstroom, where the Methodist Church began its work in the Transvaal. In 1886 the Revs. T. H. Wainman and G. S. Sheldon were appointed to Potchefstroom, from which centre they visited Uitkyk (where a farm had been purchased, upon which a considerable number of Natives formed the nucleus of a small Church), Macaba's Stad, and Klerksdorp. The difficulty of working this Circuit may be guessed from the fact that one of its outposts was no less than a hundred miles from the 'Circuit Town.' In 1908 a substantial chapel of pleasing appearance was built, and the work was carried on with such effect that in 1913 there were 63 English members and 1,378 Natives, while Klerksdorp had been separated from it and returned similar numbers, both on the English side and on the Native. The returns of Local Preachers are always interesting, as they indicate the extent to which the Native Church undertakes the work of evangelizing its heathen neighbours. In the Centenary year there were 96 Local Preachers at Potchefstroom and nearly the same number at Klerksdorp. The increase of the Church is distinctly attributable to the devotion of such men, who without fee or reward gave themselves up to the work of proclaiming the Gospel which had brought light and life to their souls. One of these—an evangelist named Michael Bowen, who later became an ordained African Minister—is characterized by Wainman as 'One of the noblest specimens of what the grace

of God can do for a Kafir. Humble, cheerful, energetic, and full of love to God and to his fellow men, he is a power amongst the tribes in the district. Through his abundant labours a beautiful church has been recently built, and a strong and healthy Society established.' The future of the Methodist Church in the Transvaal is assured so long as that may be said of its children.

There are other stations to which detailed reference cannot be made for want of space. Vereeniging, with a membership of more than a thousand, Middelburg, Krugersdorp, Heidelberg, Standerton, and other Circuits all have strong and increasing Churches, and they exhibit in varying measure, but unmistakably, the fruits of the Spirit. That the Methodist Church should have been able within the space of forty years to gather more than 18,000 Africans into its fold, while providing at the same time for the spiritual necessities of the English population, shows that the seed sown has been that which comes from the heavenly granaries, and it shows also how appropriate to the African heart and mind is the spirit and the organization of that Church.

Forty years had passed since George Blencowe rode from Ladysmith to Potchefstroom, and during that period the Methodist Church extended its borders north, south, east, and west, until there were no outstanding centres of human life and activity where its influence was unknown. Statistics have been given throughout this survey of the Mission to the Transvaal showing, so far as numbers can show, the rapid development of the Church. But mere numbers will never satisfy those who would consider the place and power of a Church in any locality. They will find their chief interest in the moral and spiritual character of its members, and in their influence upon the life of the community to which they belong. The Methodist Church in the Transvaal has little to fear from any such scrutiny. Its members will indeed be the first to recognize their failure to reach the full standard of life which their Divine Master has set before them. Their note will be not one of self-glorying but of self-humiliation, nor will they fail in attributing whatever of good may be discovered in them to the source from which all good is derived. 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to Thy Name give glory.'

But their sense of insufficiency and their confession of failure cannot obscure the general uplift of thought and feeling and purpose in the social life of the community to which they belong; and when that uplift corresponds with the moral and spiritual principles to which they have done homage in their own souls, and which they have enforced both by precept and conduct, they may well thank God and take courage. By every test which distrust, suspicion, or jealousy may apply the Church stands high in Christian character. Its members have proved their fidelity where it was easy, and sometimes profitable, to be unfaithful. They have shown their devotion by service that looked not for reward, and the lowliest service has not been too lowly for those in whom the love of God has been shed abroad. They have brought their gifts into the treasury of the Lord with glad and generous hearts, and often their gifts have been made in terms of sacrifice. They have often suffered the loss of all things that they might win Christ and be found in Him, and when death has been the token and pledge of devotion, then death has been accepted as a small price to pay for the honour of bearing the name of Christ. The tokens of the spirit of Jesus are to be seen in thousands of Kafirs who have found in Christ the joy and crown of life, and who have in face of cruel persecution, and scarcely less cruel scorn, borne unfaltering witness to their Lord.

The Missionaries in the Transvaal were quick to realize their obligation to the men of their own race. With a longing to share in the joy of preaching Christ to those who had never heard His name, they never refused the duty of ministering to their own countrymen, though the double task was one that often taxed their powers to the uttermost. Such service was amply rewarded when some prodigal from a Christian home found his way back to the faith of his father, or when those who stumbled in the way walked with surer feet, or when again those who were homesick for the fellowship of worship found in some humble room or dreary office the joy of bygone days return in the presence of their Lord. The response of all these has been strength and counsel and guidance for the Church, and the Methodist laity of the Transvaal have immeasurably strengthened the hands and comforted the hearts of their Ministers.

But the influence of the Church may also be found outside its own peculiar boundaries. The Rev. Ernest Titcomb, writing in 1910, speaks of the improvement in the general tone of life, in the gradual removal of racial animosities, and in the changing sentiment on the Native question. On the last mentioned point he says[1]: 'Gradually the principles of the Gospel of Christ are coming to be recognized as the only principles capable of application to this case. The Ministers of our Church have always stood firm in insisting upon due recognition of the Native as a man and a potential Christian, and to-day that view is accepted by all the best and most thoughtful people of the sub-continent. . . . There is nothing in South African life more striking or more hopeful from the humanitarian and Christian standpoint than this changing sentiment in favour of the Native races, and nothing that bears more eloquent and powerful testimony to the influence of the Christian Church in our midst.'

In connexion with this all-important matter we may notice here that in 1913 a Native Land Bill was sprung upon the country by the South African Government, and it at once caused the utmost uneasiness and even dismay in many minds. The Act would have meant, if carried out as devised, homelessness for many thousands, and a complete dislocation of Mission work among the African tribes. Action was at once taken by the Native National Council, and a deputation was sent to England to put their case before the higher authorities. On the outbreak of war in 1914 they were advised to refrain from all agitation until peace was restored, and with this advice they concurred. In 1917 the Rev. Amos Burnet appeared before a select Committee of the House of Assembly in Cape Town, and made a strong appeal against the enforcement of the Act. Mr. Burnet attended as the representative of the Methodist Church, the Witwatersrand Church Council, and the Transvaal Missionary Association. Under the provisions of the Act eighty-seven per cent. of all the land in the Transvaal was allocated for the use of the white population, while the remaining thirteen per cent. was left for Natives, who outnumbered the Whites by three to one. Not only so, but the Native allocations were found, in several instances, to be in the most unhealthy districts, and in some cases where

[1] *The Foreign Field*, 1910, p. 36.

the land was unsuitable for cultivation. Unless, then, a Kafir was content that he and his children after him should remain the serfs of the white man, he would have to break up his home, and remove his cattle and his effects some hundreds of miles, to find himself among alien tribes speaking another language than his own, and in conditions that made his finding a livelihood precarious in the extreme. As Mr. Burnet urged, 'The proposals are so impossible that it can only be supposed that the gentlemen who signed the recommendations of the Land Commission had not seen the areas which they prescribed.' We understand that the Act has never been enforced, but that it should have been conceived shows how watchful they must be who have the interests of the Native people at heart, and how easily what commends itself to the judgement of an enlightened Government may do a cruel injustice to those for whose well-being they are in great measure responsible. It is to be hoped that this Act will remain a 'dead letter of the law.' To quote Mr. Burnet again, 'Many of the clauses of this Bill are heavy with destiny, and some are weighted with disaster.'

In bringing this chapter of our History to a conclusion we cannot indicate the growth of the Methodist Church in the Transvaal District better than by adding the following table of statistics:

| | 1880 | 1902 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|
| European Missionaries .. | 2 | 24 | 51 |
| African Ministers .. | — | 17 | 36 |
| Local Preachers .. | 5 | 527 | 2,091 |
| Churches .. .. | 3 | 145 | 440 |
| Other Preaching-places .. | 5 | 215 | 761 |
| Fully accredited Members | 78 | 9,300 | 21,300 |
| Members on Probation .. | 32 | 3,500 | 8,300 |
| Adherents .. .. | 700 | 42,000 | 92,000 |
| Children in Schools .. | — | 2,073 | 4,357 |
| Grants from England .. | £1,272 | £7,000 | £7,000 |
| Money raised in the District | — | £15,000 | £44,000 |

# *RHODESIA*

## I

## THE FOOLISHNESS OF THE PREACHING

Rhodesia—The British South Africa Company—Makalanga and Matabele—Pioneer Missionaries—Isaac Shimmin—The Ministry of Song—Tribal Revolt—The first Martyrs—Epworth—Translation of the Scriptures—Nengubo—A Fingo Settlement—Industrial Missions.

TWENTY-FIVE miles from Buluwayo, not quite halfway between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers, stands a range of hills known as 'The Matoppos,' and on a commanding eminence among them, surrounded by huge round boulders of granite, two graves are to be found. They are those of two men who more than most had to do with establishing the influence of Great Britain in a country whose future promises to be as great as that of any to which the British Colonist has found his way. One grave is that of Cecil Rhodes, one of the greatest statesmen that Africa has yet given to the British Commonwealth of Free Nations, and certainly one who lavished upon South Africa a love of extraordinary tenderness and generosity. The other grave is that of his bosom friend, Dr. L. S. Jameson. No mausoleum could be more impressive, or more suggestive of the hold which Africa has upon all who have come under the spell of her service. Cecil Rhodes chose this place for his grave when in 1896 he accomplished what was in some respects the greatest thing in his wonderful life—the pacification of the hostile Matabele, not by armed force, but by friendliness, and that personal influence which was his great characteristic.

Encamped at that time in those hills, he declared the place to be 'The View of the World,' and in his will he left instructions that his body should be buried there. Before that time the immense country overlooked by the Matoppo Hills had received the name 'Rhodesia,' that the part he had played in bringing it within the scope of British government and

influence might be perpetuated in the memory of men. Our record of the missionary service of the Methodist Church now brings us to this country which so powerfully affected the imagination of two great men and administrators.

This Mission-field is the latest of the many fields in which the seed of the Wesleyan revival has been cast, and as such we shall find that the story we have to tell lacks certain features with which we have become familiar in surveying the work of the Church in Africa. We have here no long 'Roll of Honour' in which the names appear of those who closed a brief ministry by the laying down of life in the service of Christ. Hardships undoubtedly met the pioneers of the Church, but they were scarcely comparable with those against which the Missionaries of the Gambia and the Niger strove so often in vain. The work was begun at a time when the resources of civilized life were more immediately available for British folk in Africa, and there were alleviations in the toil of the Missionary which were unknown to Barnabas Shaw at Khamiesberg or to William Shaw in Kaffraria. But the spirit that moved in the hearts of the earlier Missionaries appeared again in those of a later day. The 'enthusiasm' of the Methodist, and his capacity for fellowship, belong to these as it did to those, and the glamour of Africa was felt in equal measure by all. It is notable, too, that after the inevitable pause which followed upon its first appearance, the characteristic features of the Methodist Church, and its peculiar organization, appealed to the Mashonas as it had done to the Yorubas and Barolongs, and the rapid growth of the Church in its latest enterprise is as marked in Rhodesia as it was in Lagos.

Apart from more general features, the country entered by Methodist Missionaries in 1891 possesses an extraordinary interest of its own. Antiquarians have practically concluded that the remarkable ruins at Zimbabwe reveal the enterprise of Arabians, who came to this country in far-distant ages, and sent back to Arabia the gold which that country afterwards distributed in Thebes and Rome and elsewhere. Whether those early gold-miners were exterminated by African tribes, or whether by inter-marriage they became submerged in the Native population, is a question that still awaits an answer, but it is possible that the skill of the Mashona in the working

of iron industries, in which they far surpass all other tribes in South Africa, is the relic of an art taught them in those far-off days, just as the skill of the Madrasi cook is supposed to refer back to the time when the French were prominent in South India.

After the proclamation of a British Protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1885, negotiations were opened between a number of Englishmen in South Africa and Lobengula, the king of the Matabele, a tribe which occupied the country between the rivers Limpopo and Zambezi. The company was known as the British South Africa Company, and concessions were obtained from King Lobengula by which prospecting for minerals and mining operations were secured to it. The company then applied to the British Government for incorporation of this company under Royal Charter for working mines, extending railways, and generally promoting trade and commerce. This charter was granted by the Imperial Government, and as Lobengula had advised beginning in the eastern district, known as Mashonaland, a body of pioneers set out from Bechuanaland for that country. After a toilsome march of a thousand miles they came, on September 12, 1890, to the locality where the town of Salisbury now stands. It was found that the climate was temperate and suited to Europeans, being for the most part four thousand feet above sea-level. The country was well wooded and well watered, and there seemed to be every prospect of rich deposits of minerals being discovered. The pioneering party soon scattered in search of these, but their experiences during the twelve months that followed were disheartening. The rains that year were exceptionally heavy, and it was almost impossible to get up sufficient supplies for the very considerable number of men who formed the expedition. Housing accommodation was very poor, and many sickened and died. The following year, however, was more propitious, a settlement at Salisbury was quickly made, and at least the rudiments of government and administration established. Missions were also sent by the Chartered Company to tribes lying still farther north, with the final result that an area of seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles—exceeding that of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy combined—came under the administrative powers of the company. The country thus

brought under British influence touches Angola—or Portuguese West Africa—on the west, and the Portuguese territory on the east, while on the north it marches with the Congo State.

The greater portion of southern Rhodesia was at one time inhabited by the Makalanga tribe. These were a quiet, pastoral people, rich in cattle, and skilled in mechanical arts such as weaving and working in iron. The remnants of this tribe are now popularly known as ' Mashona '—a name coined by Europeans, and unknown except by modern usage to the Natives. In 1822 a section of the powerful Zulu tribe under their chief, Umzilikazi, had invaded and occupied the Transvaal. Driven thence by the Boers, they travelled northwards, encountering the Bechuana *en route*, and about 1835 reached the region now known as Matabeleland, where they found the Makalanga an easy prey. The latter were split up into many sections, and there was no unity of control, while the Zulus, now known as the Matabele, were highly organized and trained warriors. The slaughter which followed on this invasion must have been beyond all computation. Whole tracts of country were entirely depopulated, and travellers have spoken of finding this fertile and desirable country so deserted that its silence became almost oppressive. The remnants of the aborigines—or, as we shall henceforth call them, the Mashonas—had found refuge in rocks and crags, where they might still hope for some measure of security. In course of time the Matabele finally settled on the western side of the country and the Mashonas on the eastern, but the latter were still subject to raids from the former, who thus ' blooded ' their young warriors and provided themselves with women and cattle at the expense of their hapless neighbours. Since 1859 Missionaries of the London Missionary Society have worked among the Matabele, but they have found this field far less responsive to their teaching than other parts of Africa.

Such was the general situation when in 1891 the Rev. Isaac Shimmin met the Hon. Cecil Rhodes, at that time Premier of Cape Colony and chief Director of the British South Africa Company, and suggested that the Methodist Church should have Missionaries in the new country. To this Mr. Rhodes assented, and offered the Wesleyan Missionary Society the sum of a hundred pounds annually towards the expenses of a Missionary who would serve in the territory under the

administration of the company. We have already seen how eagerly this offer was accepted, both by the Committee in England and by the Missionaries in the Transvaal.[1]

When Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin reached Salisbury in 1891 a grant of land was soon obtained for the purposes of the Mission, and Owen Watkins returned to the Transvaal, while Shimmin remained with Michael Bowen, a faithful and able evangelist, to begin the work. Shimmin's first European service was held in a hut, with a barrel for a reading-desk and a few soap-boxes for his pews. 'A congregation of four men crowded in.' In such humble wise did the Methodist Church begin its service in Rhodesia. The next step was the building of a chapel. A subscription list was sent round, and help was readily forthcoming. The foundation-stone was laid by Dr. Jameson, who congratulated the Wesleyans on building the first permanent church in the country. It afforded accommodation for a hundred and fifty worshippers, and was opened free of debt.

The Chartered Company made generous grants of land for Mission work. Farms of three thousand acres were granted at Epworth, near Salisbury, and in the Lomagondi district, to the north, and the promise was made that, if the work of the Mission prospered, any further application should receive 'every favourable consideration.' Shimmin found welcome companionship in Mr. Venables, a young Wesleyan from King Williamstown, in Cape Colony, and presently a contingent of the Salvation Army arrived in Salisbury, so that when presently he placed Michael Bowen at Epworth he was not without a measure of Christian fellowship. Early in December he started for the north to 'peg out' another farm in that region, and though the chief of the tribe he was seeking was just then killed in a raid made by the Matabele, he accomplished his purpose and the place was named 'Hartleyton.' (The names of our Missionary Secretaries are to be found all over South Africa.) This station is within ninety miles of the Zambezi. Two evangelists were left at Hartleyton and Shimmin returned to Salisbury. He was soon *persona grata* with the Chartered Company, and he used his influence to obtain at least one great advantage in all future work among the Natives, for he was enabled to secure the enactment of a law that in all the company's territory no Native was allowed

[1] See page 346.

to buy intoxicating liquor, and any one selling it to such was liable to a heavy penalty. In an address given in London in 1893 Owen Watkins paid a high tribute to the Chartered Company. He said that 'it had done for British influence, for righteousness, and for trade what England ought to have done herself. It had thrown around the Natives a shield of protection, and that meant security for life and property, liberty for the slave, and a closing of the open sore of the world. . . . It had grasped the great truth that civilization without Christianity would not be beneficial to the people.'

New stations were quickly opened in 1892. Shimmin was able to place evangelists at Nengubo and at Kwenda, the latter in Gambiza's territory. Of both these places we shall hear again. Meantime Lobengula, one of the sons of the notorious Umzilikazi, with the Matabele people who accepted his rule, were not prepared tamely to surrender their habit of raiding and slaughtering the Mashona people. In 1892 a Matabele party utterly destroyed seven villages, and in the following year it was determined to crush the ruthless power that was a perpetual menace to the peace and prosperity of the country. Outlying settlers were called in; Salisbury was put in a position which would enable its population to stand a siege, and a column of men marched out to meet the enemy. The power of Lobengula was broken, and he fled with the remnants of his tribe to the north, where it was difficult to follow him. His capital—Buluwayo, 'the place of killing'—was burnt to the ground before he fled, but there quickly arose from its ruins a new town destined to become one of the great cities of Rhodesia. By this time (1893) the Rev. G. H. Eva had joined Shimmin, and the Rev. G. Weavind—at that time the Chairman of this District, which was still connected with the Transvaal—visited Buluwayo, and in 1894 preached the first sermon in that town. Eva was then appointed to take charge of the work there, and J. White, who arrived in the country early in 1894, took charge of the Mashonaland section, and in this way Matabeleland as well as Mashonaland was entered by Wesleyan Missionaries. In 1895 the Rev. G. W. Stanlake arrived in Rhodesia and was stationed at Buluwayo, Eva being sent to take charge of Hartleyton. Before this, however, the name of another Missionary appeared in the *Minutes* of Conference as appointed to this District.

The Rev. John White is a Missionary whose name will be frequently before us, but for the present we merely record the date of his first appearance in the country.

The Mashona people were a race peculiarly ignorant and degraded, and it was difficult to find the best way of bringing their minds to grasp the ideas of Christianity, or to impart any instruction to an illiterate people with centuries of barbarism in their past. It was found that one of the most effective methods was through the ministry of song. Obviously instruction in theology, even if it were the bare repetition of dogmatic formula, was impossible, and school-books in the Mashona language were non-existent. But the people were quick in picking up simple tunes, and when the evangelists had rendered certain hymns into Mashona the constant singing of these made the elementary teachings of Christianity familiar. Thus when Eva was making a tour of the out-stations he found the children of a kraal, thirty-two miles distant from the nearest Christian teacher, singing Christian hymns. A youth who had been in Salisbury had learnt them there, and on his return had taught them to the children of his clan. It is an ancient saying that the songs of a people are more effective than legislation, and that saying was confirmed in the pioneer Mission work among the Mashonas. Shimmin writes of his failure to get his hearers to grasp the great doctrines of the Christian faith :

> Men, women, and children listened eagerly to the strange Gospel, but the simple truths of the Bible were utterly beyond them. I had clever interpreters, and as clearly as I could I told them the ' old, old story ' of redemption, but even this was above their grasp ; I spoke of sin, repentance, and forgiveness ; they only smiled and looked puzzled.

But the instruction in singing which had started the Missionary upon these depressing reflections was really the best means of conveying the very teaching he longed to impart. This is by no means a matter limited to the Mashonas. It would be interesting to find out, if it were possible to do so, how many persons in England have derived their knowledge of theology from the incomparable hymns of the Wesleys.

In the Report for 1893 the first returns from the new field appeared. In that year there were three chapels, with thirteen preaching-places, and the two Missionaries were assisted by eight catechists. The membership amounted to 5, and there

were 870 children in the schools. The fact that the Mashonas were scattered in small groups over a wide area made it difficult to bring them together for instruction, or to get their children in any number to attend school. Eva accordingly set out to persuade as many as possible to reside on the Mission farm at Hartleyton. His tour lasted eight days, and in that time he walked eighty or ninety miles, and interviewed some thirty of the chiefs in that region. As a result some of them began to build their huts on the Mission ground, and continuous teaching became easier.

In 1896 the good fortune of Rhodesia was at a very low ebb. In the last weeks of the preceding year Dr. Jameson, the intimate friend of Cecil Rhodes, had led the historic ' Raid ' against the Government of the Transvaal, and this produced a widespread indignation against these two leading representatives of the Chartered Company. Rhodes resigned the Premiership of Cape Colony, which at that time he held, and the Imperial Government compelled him to give up a position even dearer to his heart—that of managing director of the Chartered Company. To add to the troubles of that time, the deadly disease known as rinderpest swept over the country with such effect that, as Stanlake observes in one of his letters, ' the country was swept clean of everything in the shape of an ox.' Now the wealth of both Mashonas and Matabele was almost entirely vested in cattle, and before the coming of the white man their herds were large, and any such plague as this was quite unknown in their experience. Whether the disease was introduced by the new occupants of their country or not, it was inevitable that the Native should associate the one with the other. The Matabele had been driven out of their chief town by the British, but they had scarcely been defeated in battle, and it was not to be expected that this race of warriors would subside into a quiet life ordered by foreigners. The fact, too, that so many of the British settlers had accompanied Jameson on his ill-fated ' Raid ' seemed to give them the opportunity they desired. Their ' witch-doctors,' the only religious teachers they possessed, promised them the gift of rain on their parched fields, the restoration of their cattle, and an easy victory over the white man. Later the Mashonas were persuaded to join them, probably in desperation at the loss of their herds, and the two tribes rose

in revolt. Isolated Europeans were murdered, and all who could get away in time betook themselves to Buluwayo or Salisbury and prepared to defend themselves. The Matabele had for their central position the Matoppo Hills, of which we have already spoken, and it was thought that to dislodge them would prove to be a very difficult task. The Missionaries joined the rest of the refugees in the fortified towns, and took up such duties as they felt they could render to the community without compromise to their position as Christian Ministers. All Mission work at the out-stations was, of course, at a standstill. The promising station of Hope Fountain, about nine miles south of Buluwayo, where the London Missionary Society had been at work since 1872, was completely destroyed. For a moment it looked as though the Chartered Company would be wrecked, and the Matabele hold sway over the country as before. Cecil Rhodes hurried from England, and at once went with a small party to the Matoppo Hills, which are about twenty-five miles from Buluwayo, and cover an area of seventy miles by thirty. Rhodes saw at once that the only way out of a very serious situation lay in concluding peace as quickly as possible with the Matabele. With a courage, patience, and tact which elicited the admiration of all he dealt personally with the hostile chiefs, going alone to them, until at last he persuaded them to come to terms. So peace was made, and the people settled down to their aforetime occupations, while the hold of the British on the country was far stronger than it had been when military force had been used to subjugate the tribes.

But the rebellion had been a serious set-back in the work of evangelizing the Mashonas. Not only were the Mission buildings destroyed, but two most devoted evangelists, Molimile Molele and James Anta, suffered death at the hand of the rebels. The former was killed while attempting the rescue of a European who had been wounded. When his wife tried to dissuade him from going because of the risk he would run, he replied, ' I am a Christian teacher, and I must do what is right at all costs,' an utterance which would have been worthy of one who had received infinitely more instruction in Christian ethics. But Molele had ' learned Christ,' and died, like his Master, in saving others rather than himself. James Anta, who is described as a man of special gifts and

complete devotion to Christ, was for some time protected by the people among whom he worked. These resided at a station far to the north known as 'Lo Magondi's.' A most hopeful beginning had been made here, but after the rebellion the name of this settlement ceased to appear. When these people refused to give up their teacher some eighteen of them shared his fate. Anta had just finished the week-day service in the little chapel when the rebels surrounded the little group of Christian folk, and the end came very quickly. 'He died in the midst of his work; a brave man, and a true Missionary of the Cross.' The grim story of murderous attacks upon all who had dealings with white men is relieved by indications such as these, revealing that even in those early days the spirit of Jesus possessed those who had accepted Him as their Lord and Master.

The first work of the Missionaries after the revolt had been quelled was to visit the stations at a distance, collect again the scattered people, and reopen the schools. It is noteworthy that as a general rule the Native Christians did not join in the rebellion, though many suffered for withholding. Chiremba —the chief who with his people had settled at Epworth— came into Salisbury, his people with him, suffering the loss of all things by doing so. After peace had been restored, having by their behaviour and readiness to help earned the goodwill of the British in Salisbury, they returned to Epworth, rebuilt and improved their village, and in 1900 the chief and his family were baptized. A few years after it was reported as a most encouraging sign that in this settlement there were six young Mashonas ready to be trained as teachers of their own tribesmen. In 1909 Stanlake describes a visit paid to this station. The farm, as it stood when first occupied, covered three thousand acres, but was found to be not very well suited for cultivation, and in 1908 a large adjoining tract was secured, so that the Mission was in possession of a valuable property covering nine thousand acres. Stanlake describes the change in the Mashonas after these few years of instruction, and his words may be quoted as indicative of the work of a Missionary in Rhodesia, and of the way in which, with the coming of the Gospel of Christ, the whole standard of life among them is raised:

In 1896 I accompanied Mr. White when he settled Chiremba and

his people on this site. I shall not forget my first impressions as the chief and people came to greet us. To my eyes there seemed scarcely a redeeming feature about them—indescribably filthy, with that dull, hopeless expression on the face which is partly responsible for hasty criticism on Mission work. . . . The wonder to me is not that these people fail to realize, and to enter into the full privileges of, the Christian life, but that they show the least desire for these things. There is not even the incentive of the loaves and fishes. The people have everything to lose. Polygamy must go. Witchcraft must go. The orgies of beer-drinking must go. These things have deep roots. To speak to the people of the freedom and joy of the Christian life, to present the Christ to them, whose minds have no power to conceive of what is pure and of good report, is a task before which many a man has paused.

Stanlake then goes on to describe his meeting with the chief Chiremba:

The old chief came to greet me. His step was more feeble, but the light in his eyes remained unabated, and his interest in the work sincere, according to the light within him. There are deep shadows, but I rejoice to know of a mercy that is deeper than criticism, and a charity broad as the love of God, moving the heart of Chiremba toward that knowledge in which there is no fear, and through it to seek the refuge of the Eternal God.

In 1907 a chapel was built in Epworth, the people themselves making the bricks and supplying the labour. Even the little children helped by carrying the sixty thousand bricks from the kiln to the site of the chapel. In 1908 the Rev. H. Oswald Brigg speaks of 'dear, beautiful Epworth' and of the strong Society, the Christianized village, and the handsome brick Church—the gift of the people. At that time the Church membership at Epworth was 32, with 56 on trial.

Meantime the work among the Matabele had also made some little progress, the first two stations among them being at Buluwayo and at the Tegwani River. At the former of these the chapel for the English congregation, constructed of iron and quite inadequate in size, had given way to a new and better building, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Cecil Rhodes. The chapel for the Native congregation, too, had proved to be too small. It was filled to overflowing three times every Sunday, and steps were now taken to build one twice as large. The Matabele had in the past been peculiarly irresponsive to the appeal of the Gospel, but, in

1898, 6 of them had been admitted to full membership and 29 others were on probation. At the Tegwani River settlement it was proposed to open an industrial school, the Government having allotted to the Mission ten thousand acres for this purpose. At the close of the year 1897 there were altogether ten stations opened in the new District. There were 6 Missionaries assisted by 7 catechists, and 56 members were returned with 75 on trial.

The year 1898 is memorable as being the year in which the Rev. John White commenced the all-important work of training Native teachers and evangelists. Previous to this such agents had been brought from Cape Colony and the Transvaal, but the expense of this arrangement, and the uncertainty that such workers would remain for any length of time so far from their homes, made it desirable that a local supply should be obtained if possible. The station selected for this purpose was Nengubo, where the heroic Molele had suffered martyrdom during the war. The school was built within sight of the tree under which his body had been buried. In 1901 we are told of no lack of candidates, but of the difficulty of selecting those who were likely to be suitable for training. Nevertheless a start was made, and the venture was to prove its great value in the days to come. White had been appointed to take charge of the new institution, and a better choice could not have been made. Before entering upon his duties he had made an attempt to render into the Mashona language some part of the Scriptures, and his description of the conditions under which the work was done is instructive. He had at that time no settled abode, but moved from place to place superintending the work of the evangelists.

> While the oxen rested from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. we sought shelter under some friendly tree or under the wagon, and rendered St. Mark's Gospel into the Shuna language.

White found valuable help in the son of a Mashona chief who had been converted, and as he could speak the Sixosa language, and had got possession of a Bible in that language, he was able to render from the Kafir language into Mashona, while White rendered from English or Greek into the same. Where the renderings coincided they might feel a fair amount of confidence as to their version, and where they did not, discussion would

lead to agreement. White's appointment to Nengubo gave him increased facilities for such work, and he kept steadily at his most honourable task. In 1901 he had nearly completed the four Gospels and the book of the Acts of the Apostles.

The beginning of the Nengubo institution could scarcely have been made on more simple lines. The only building for the purposes of the institution was one large mud hut, while the students lived in similar but smaller buildings not far removed. The 'staff' consisted of White and no other. But this institution, for all the simplicity of its early design, embodied the highest hopes of the new Mission. It was the simply conceived nucleus within which was contained the future Church of Rhodesia. No seed-vessel could have been more rudimentary in construction, and none could have carried the secret of a greater life. The lines which it was proposed to follow were those that had been found so effective at Kilnerton. There were to be two or three years' training in subjects that bore directly upon their work, and then the students would be sent to some heathen kraal to work under the superintendence of a European Missionary. White started work with six students, and it will be our business to trace in this record the development of this all-important work.

Meantime the administration of the Mission had passed through a distinct stage. At first it had been administered by the Chairman of the Transvaal District, but in 1894 it was made independent of that District, and its first Chairman was Isaac Shimmin. He continued to hold this responsible position until 1899, when he was followed by the Rev. A. S. Sharp, whom we met before in Mafeking. The new Chairman describes a visit paid to the new station at Tegwani River, and speaks of the admirable way in which the Rev. J. W. Stanlake had succeeded in establishing the Mission there. Further openings among the Matabele had presented themselves, notably one among the people of Gambo, a leading chief under Lobengula. Gambo afterwards became an Induna of the Chartered Company. He had visited Cape Town, where the doings and resources of the white man had duly impressed him, and on his return he wished to have Christian teachers among his people. Bukwali, Mpini, and Magila were other stations in which there seemed to be every prospect of successful work among the Matabele. Another station, Korenda,

opened some time previously as an out-station, became this year the head of a Circuit. This was situated in a densely populated district of Mashonaland, and the Rev. H. O. Brigg was the first Missionary appointed to it.

In 1901 a number of Fingoes were brought from Cape Colony and were settled on a site about twenty-five miles north of Buluwayo. As many as fifteen hundred families were so settled, and as among these, it was said, there were nearly two hundred members of Society, with a due proportion of Class-leaders and Local Preachers, it was hoped that a welcome addition to the number of Church workers in Rhodesia would be found among the new Colonists. The name of the settlement was 'Bembisa,' a name which appears for the first time in the Report of 1900, when there were 20 members returned from that station. After the arrival of the Fingoes quarterly visits were paid by the Missionaries in Buluwayo, but it was felt that this arrangement was unsatisfactory, since adequate pastoral supervision could not be maintained. In 1908 the station was incorporated into the Native Circuit of Buluwayo.

In 1901 the Bishopsgate Committee issued a statement outlining 'A Policy of Advance.' The Committee had been encouraged by signs of a rising income, and a spirit of response to the appeal of world evangelism in the Church at home, while the number of men prepared to serve on the Mission-field showed a gratifying increase. All three signs were such as to cheer an administration that had long been depressed. In this statement reference is made to Rhodesia. It was under contemplation 'to strengthen the meagre force which in Rhodesia is longing to push its campaign towards the Zambezi, and gather the Natives of that great region into the kingdom of Christ.' This indication of interest in their work, and of appreciation of its possibilities, must have stimulated and encouraged the little handful of men among the Matabele and Mashona people, but it was not until 1910 that there was any increase in the European staff. They were in sore need of encouragement. The first enthusiasm with which a new Mission-field is entered had died down, or passed into heavy 'collar-work,' as the difficulties of their task began to appear, and the rebellion of the Natives had been a very serious set-back. The willingness of the people to receive the Missionary, and the joy with which they welcomed him on his first arrival,

had given place to restlessness and suspicion. There was a general feeling of insecurity among both Europeans and Natives, and this greatly hindered the development of industrial undertakings in the country, and of distinctively missionary enterprise. Trade was bad, and though the railway had been pushed forward to Buluwayo, the charges for transport were very high, and the cost of articles brought into the country rose accordingly. The Natives, on the other hand, had scarcely recovered from the effects of the cattle-plague, and though the Chartered Company had been both wise and generous in helping them to restock their herds, time was required before complete recovery could be expected. Under such circumstances the Missionaries pursued the best possible course. They went about their work quietly, reopening stations that had been closed, and recovering the lost sense of touch with the Native population. They were constantly on the move ; some of them lived for months at a time in their wagons. It was hard work, but they saw that they must at all costs recover the contact that had been broken, and the hardships were cheerfully accepted in the patience of hope. On the other side of the account they placed the opportunity presented by the opening of mines in the neighbourhood of Buluwayo. It was to be expected that an increasing amount of Native labour would be required in these, and with the example of the Witwatersrand before them they looked forward to being able to reach and influence thousands of Natives from all parts of Rhodesia and the regions beyond. In 1900 the Chairman made another tour of his District, and reports one most hopeful sign which he found in the increasing respect with which both Government officials and European traders spoke of the Missionaries, whether White or Black. That these should have won the respect of those who, as a class, were only too ready to fasten upon any case of moral failure and to magnify it beyond the limits, not only of ethical standards, but often of common sense, was indeed something which Mr. Sharp welcomed as giving him good hope for the future. Another matter to which the Chairman refers may be mentioned here as illustrating the many-sidedness of missionary work and the need for sound business capacity in those who undertake it. By this time the Mission found itself in possession of considerable tracts of land. These were

held by title-deeds, according to which, if the Mission withdrew from any land granted for Mission purposes, such land was to revert to the Chartered Company, and no provision had been made for securing compensation for any buildings that had been erected. Obviously such an omission might possibly have led to serious difficulty later on. Mr. Sharp was able to secure a free and alienable title for all such farms, giving the Company the option of purchase at a valuation, if it ever became necessary to alienate any part of the land so acquired.

By this time the suspicion with which Europeans were regarded by the Natives had died down, and access to them was now available. The work of the District, too, had been thoroughly reorganized, and the former stations reopened. The demand for industrial schools now began to make itself heard. This branch of work was being recognized as a valuable auxiliary to the work of evangelization. It brought the Missionary into close association with the Native while he was at work, and it secured the favour of the Government anxious to see such work extended in the country. But, above all, it helped to lift the Native out of his indifference and laziness, and fitted him for his place in the communal life. The Mission, with its extensive farms at no great distance from the larger towns, was in a specially favourable situation for such work, and the Missionaries were ready to begin. The increasing demand for industrial Missions was an inevitable result of the growth of the European population at mining centres, and in such towns as Salisbury and Buluwayo. This growth of the mining population had another effect. It made more urgent than ever the claim of the English folk for the service of the Christian Minister. Mr. Sharp writes:

> In Salisbury and Buluwayo and in the mining centres we find ourselves face to face with responsibilities from which we cannot turn away. Here are thousands of our fellow countrymen who have come to make their homes on this frontier of civilization, and our duty in relation to them is clear. True to our traditions, we have been the first to reach them, and to provide for their spiritual needs. . . . The present and pressing need is that something should be done by us in the many mining camps that are to be found up and down the country, where hundreds of our fellow countrymen, and many children of Methodists in the homeland, are living without any religious privileges whatever. It is urgent that our ministerial staff should be at once increased with a view to taking up this work in a more thorough manner.

## II

## THE POWER OF GOD, AND THE WISDOM OF GOD

The Rev. John White—Selukwe—Tebekwe—The Church in Epworth—Ranga—A notable Year—The Crossing of the Zambezi—Kwenda—The Racial Question—Chipembi—W. Comber Burgess—Gatooma—Nengubo.

In the work of evangelizing a people so backward as the Mashona, times and again the first pioneers of the Church were tempted to think their task a hopeless one and all their efforts futile. The 'foolishness of preaching' was never more obtrusive. Yet many of them were to remain at work long enough to prove the truth of St. Paul's triumphant conclusion that it was nevertheless both the power and the wisdom of God. In 1903 the Rev. A. S. Sharp returned to England, and the Rev. J. White began the long term of administrative work which happily still continues. In reporting his first tour in the District he strikes the same note as that struck by Sharp when leaving it:

> In this neighbourhood [Selukwe] there are about three hundred white men working on the mines practically destitute of any religious ministrations. It seems a reflection on the Churches that it should be so. Every mine has its doctor to care for the men's physical health, but in the whole group not one Minister is to be found. And at these mines are some of the most enterprising, intelligent, and progressive of Britain's sons. That many of them degenerate is, alas! only too true. But can we be surprised at this? On every hand are the foes of purity and goodness, while its allies are almost invisible.

While on this tour White came on several instances of Native Churches springing up where the European Missionary was unknown. At Gwelo, two hundred miles from Salisbury, a Native Local Preacher from Cape Town had begun work amongst the Natives working there. They had received help from no one, but they had built themselves a chapel, and were doing excellent work. Thirty miles farther, at Selukwe, the

same experience was repeated. Here there were five thousand men working. Some of them were from tribes in the mines south of the Zambezi; others had come from regions far to the north. Here also White found a chapel which was crowded out when he took the service in it, and here, as at Gwelo, there were candidates for baptism, prepared for the sacrament by the love and devotion of the Evangelist who had brought them into the Christian fellowship. Both at Buluwayo and at Tegwani River he found the work among the Matabele progressing rapidly, and holding out promise of abundant harvest.

The year before this a new station had been opened at the Gwaai River in the midst of a large indigenous population, where Government proposed to locate a number of Tembu Colonists from the south, just as they had done the Fingoes at Buluwayo. By the following year a chapel had been built and a school opened. In 1904 there were 60 persons on probation for membership, and 40 at Selukwe, with which place the Christians at Gwelo had been associated. White asked for three Native evangelists and a European Minister to be appointed to this most promising field. The Rev. H. J. Baker was appointed to take charge of the English work, but the time for an appointment to the Native Church was not yet. The English Churches enjoyed this great advantage that throughout the District this branch of the work was self-supporting, while every extension of work among the Africans entailed a fresh drain of the financial resources of the Church in England. It was generally felt at this time that the 'romantic' period of missionary work in this District had passed, and that the hard work of stablishing what had been gained, and of winning a people in whose eyes the Christian religion had ceased to possess the charm of novelty, remained. Thus Stanlake says:

> There will come a reaction when the novelty of the Gospel dies away—a reaction which will be but the quickening of the new life which in its new demands may make many less willing to advance. We shall wait patiently; we cannot force this work.

There were continuous accessions in most centres, but the startling increases which had marked the work in the Transvaal did not appear at this time in Rhodesia. But the truer

'romance' of men and women finding in the love of Christ the secret of a larger, truer life never left the Church, and the joy of the Lord was the strength of His servants.

Baker had a hard struggle before him at Selukwe. The moral tone of a mining camp is notoriously often very low, and even though actual immorality may not be very flagrant the indifference to things spiritual is sometimes a greater obstacle to the Christian worker than open immorality would be. Men who have broken away from the restraints and conventions of home life are wont to give themselves up to money-making and pleasure-seeking, and to ignore, if not to resent, anything in the form of a spiritual appeal. A young Missionary, practically alone in such surroundings, needs a firm foundation for his feet in the reality of his own spiritual experience, and he needs more than an ordinary amount of courage in bearing his witness to the saving power of Christ. Even where there may be those who at heart sympathize with the Missionary, these are often unwilling to declare themselves on his side, or to identify themselves with the Church. Baker was unable to set up from among his friends anything in the form of the conventional organization of the Church, but he was able to form what he called 'A Watch Committee,' and its members met from time to time to keep an eye upon possible developments for the Church, and to discuss its interests. A spirit of adaptation, without compromise in essentials, is an excellent thing in a Missionary. Another step taken after a few months was admirably conceived. By that time families began to appear in Selukwe, and there were little children to consider. Baker opened a school for them, and while on Sundays he preached in the surrounding camps, on week-days he taught the little children of Selukwe. He could scarcely have found a better way of winning the respect and support of the men he was anxious to help. He had the satisfaction of earning a good grant from the Government and a highly favourable report from the Inspector of Schools. In 1905 there were 6 English members and 10 Natives, but of the latter there were 32 on trial—an earnest of the Church that was to be in Selukwe.

Baker had not to wait very long for the gathering of fruit in his difficult Circuit. One of the Fingoes brought to Rhodesia, and settled at Bembisa, was Samuel Kona, the son of a Fingo

chief who had surrendered his right of succession to the chieftaincy that he might follow Christ. Arrived at Bembisa, he at once began to witness for Christ. Later on he came to Tebekwe, one of the mines in the Selukwe Circuit, and here he became a recognized evangelist. The Methodist chapel was soon in evidence, and when it was destroyed another was built in its place. At the annual missionary meeting held in this chapel the average collection was £10, a sum which indicates that when the Mashona gives himself to Christ he at once begins to think of the ' other sheep not of this fold,' and his first interest is found in bringing others into the like glorious freedom. One of the first converts at Tebekwe was Mantiziba, and his story is told by Baker. Mantiziba was one of the Makalangas, a people that ranked very low among all South African tribes. This man was working in one of the mines at Tebekwe when Christ laid His hand upon him and claimed him for another service. He left his work, returned to his people, and at once began the service to which he had been called. After he had been at work about a year Baker was able to visit his kraal, and found that he in his turn had built a chapel, and had gathered together a little company of people whom he was instructing in Christian truth. So the light came from Fingoland, where Shrewsbury lit the flame, to Selukwe, and now on to the Vumgwi River, and who shall say where it will next appear?

At first such evidences of evangelism seem to partake of precocity in new converts, and those who are of sceptical mind may distrust such rapid growth. But neither the surprise of the slow-moving Britisher nor the habitual distrust of the sceptic can dispute the reality of such work, and where it appears its effects are to be seen in the immediate uplift of both the individual and the communal life. The fruits of the Spirit were plain to see where before had been only the darkness, the cruelty, and the sensuality of heathenism. In the Centenary year, only eight years after the work had been begun, there were 146 members at Selukwe, with 428 on trial for membership.

White's plan of campaign was the well-proved one of strong central stations, each extending within the radius of its influence as far as means would allow, but with the careful instruction of the members of the central Church, so that they

might know the certainty of the things they had believed. Education was made prominent from the first, and in 1905 there were more than a thousand children in the Mission schools. One restriction was felt as a serious limitation to this work. In some cases, though boys were allowed quite freely to attend school, the girls were kept back. But this restriction was not universal, and time was to remove it altogether.

It will be remembered that the Chairman, in his first tour after accepting the office of Administrator, had come upon two or three instances of Churches that had sprung up under the care of devout Africans from other Districts. Gwelo and Tebekwe were two of these, and they were now added to the Selukwe Circuit. Another Circuit which at this time was of special interest was Epworth, of which we have already written. In 1903 considerable progress had been made, and it became possible to say that of the five or six hundred people in this station all but half a dozen old men, who could not bring themselves to renounce polygamy, were nominally Christian. Very wisely, however, the Missionaries were cautious in admitting these to full membership. The moral state of the community was very similar to that which St. Paul found at Corinth. The old life of sense did not yield in a moment to the new life of the Spirit, and from time to time it became necessary to remove from the Church roll the names of those who were ' carnal,' that the moral and religious distinction of those who were ' spiritual ' might stand out in clearer light, a challenge to the old life of sensuality and barbarism. But that there was at the centre of the new field so strong a Church, the members of which had entered into a real spiritual experience in Christ, was the source of joy and strength to those whose immediate field of work lay in more stubborn soil. The Church membership at Epworth in 1903 was only 46, but there were 500 in attendance at public worship. After the revival of 1905 the number of members rose at once to 300, with nearly 250 who still remained on trial. White draws a striking contrast between a visit paid to this station in 1903 and a former visit only nine years before. In the first visit his slumbers were disturbed at night by the wild orgies of a beer-drinking and a dance which lasted until daybreak, but on the occasion of the second visit he found the whole

Church spending the Saturday night in prayer for a blessing on the services that were to follow on the Sunday. In describing a Christmas Day spent at Epworth, Stanlake calls attention to one of those more subtle indications of the refinement of the heathen mind when Christ has been accepted as the law of life. He found it in *the decoration of the chapel*. The Mashona is singularly lacking in all appreciation of beauty. But Mr. Stanlake shall tell his own story :

> As I entered the church my attention was immediately arrested by an attempt to decorate the church for Christmas. Think of it! Whatever may have been the impression made on other minds, to me, who knew with what supreme contempt a Native regarded the beautiful, how he could look at a sunset with no more feeling than an ox, the sight of flower garlands twined round the windows was an assurance that the upward movement had begun, and that the day of their emancipation was not far off. The congregation itself was one to be remembered ; there was an intelligent interest and an appreciative response that proved conclusively that they understood the message conveyed to them on that Christmas morning. It would be hard to conceive a more inspiring scene than this devout congregation of Native Christians, lately gathered from the surrounding heathenism, singing and rejoicing in the advent of a Saviour born into their dark hearts and lives.[1]

Another contrast drawn by White which helps us to measure the progress of the Church is that which he found in two acts of worship which he conducted in villages, close together in measurements of space, yet far apart when we measure in terms of moral and spiritual attainment. The former of the two was at Altona, a small village between Epworth and Buluwayo. Work was begun here in 1897 at the request of the people, and six years after it was visited by the Chairman. In those six years the whole aspect, not only of the people, but even of the place, was altered. The little chapel was there, crowded with a large and reverent congregation, and there was a good school for the children. Twenty persons had been admitted to the membership of the Christian Church. But six miles away there was another village, and here, too, White conducted worship.

> As it was cold the people asked me to go inside one of their huts to hold the service. A typical Mashona hut has neither window nor chimney. Around the fire sat forty people ; to the side of the hut

[1] *The Foreign Field*, 1905, p. 154.

two calves and a number of goats were fastened, and in this smoke-filled, dirty hovel we spoke with these primitive folk of the things that make for their peace.

The contrast between the one service and the other was striking enough ; but that which had transfigured the one was present also in the grimy hovel, for it was the presence and the power of Christ. Not far from Altona is a place called Ranga. Here work had been done for some time under great disadvantage because of the secret yet truculent opposition of the chief. At last it was decided to withdraw the Christian teacher and to place him in another and more friendly kraal, and some of the Christian people of Ranga went with the teacher. But there were five who still remained at Ranga, and these not only maintained their Christian profession fearlessly in the face of a hostile chief and strong opposition, but set themselves to do aggressive work among their fellow tribesmen. They actually built a small chapel in their own kraal, and persuaded others to join them as followers of Christ. Surely here was ' romance,' and that of a higher order than that which is to be found merely in large accessions, however impressive they may be.

Farther south we come to the important centre of Buluwayo, to which such frequent reference has been made. Here the familiar difficulty of reaching the European was very evident, but the Native Church was strong, and held out the promise of still greater strength. A new and larger chapel had been built, the cost being met by the congregation. The membership of the Church stood at 79, but there were 350 on trial for membership. Not only was this the case at Buluwayo, but in its vicinity there were also the Fingo location at Bembisa, and the promising work at Gwaai River. The Missionary in charge of this work in 1903 was the Rev. J. W. Stanlake. Still farther south we come to the Tegwani River Station, where the Rev. H. O. Brigg was strengthening the central station with a view to a wide extension among the surrounding villages in the future. At this time the Church was small, but it was destined to assume considerable proportions in the near future. At Mpini, an outpost of this Circuit, an incident occurred about this time which illustrates the difficulty of keeping in touch with those who seemed likely to enter the Church. The land at this place was held by Europeans, and

these, wishing to get rid of the Natives already living within the area, levied an annual rent of £2 per hut. The people therefore decided to remove to a Native Reserve some thirty miles distant, and as they would then be in territory which was being evangelized by the agents of the London Missionary Society they could not be followed by our workers. Some few, however, remained at Mpini, and work was continued among them.

The year 1904 was notable for two things. The first of these was the taking of a census throughout the country. This enabled the Missionaries to see better the dimensions of the task before them, and to place their workers at the strategic centres. The census showed that there were 12,623 Europeans, 1,944 'coloured people,' and 591,197 Natives. The second event of the year is the appearance in the annual report of the names of three Native Ministers. The coincidence of these two returns in the same year is significant. With the realization of the great mass of unevangelized heathendom came the suggestion of the only means of leavening that mass in and through the indigenous ministry of the Church. There was yet another event which, though apparently trivial, meant much to those who have 'in least things an undersense of greatest.' This was the fact that in some stations Christian marriages had taken place. To some this might seem to be a matter that called for no comment, but to the Missionary, working among a people to whom polygamy was the familiar feature of all family life, it was far otherwise; it stood for the beginning among the Mashona people of the Christian home, and that meant an added strength to the Church, and a new centre of gracious influence to the community. It meant the setting up of a new standard of family life, destined to discredit the polygamous system of the past as no exhortations of the Preacher could have done, and polygamy has always been one of the greatest of the many obstacles to missionary work in Africa.

In the same year a change in the appointments took place which proved fruitful of good. The Chairman removed from Nengubo, where he must have found the increasing work in the training institution greatly hindered by his administrative duties, and took charge of the work at Epworth. His place at Nengubo was taken by the Rev. Avon Walton. The latter

sought to extend the scope of the institution by admitting others than those who were to be trained as teachers and evangelists, provided that they had secured the recommendation of a Missionary, and that they contributed towards the expenses of the institution. The fee of £8 per annum was first fixed, but this was found to be prohibitive, and later on it was reduced to £3, a lower scale of diet being at the same time laid down. It was felt that the accommodation provided at Nengubo was insufficient, and that better provision should be made for the training of workers. Excellent results had been obtained even with the poor provision made, and the dissatisfaction expressed was only an indication of the increasing conviction that still more should be attempted. The membership returns for the whole District in 1903 showed that 393 were in full Church fellowship, while more than 900 were on probation.

The year 1905 was the best year known in the District up to that time. Mission services were held on behalf of the white populations at Salisbury and Buluwayo, but though several conversions cheered the hearts of the workers, and though a quickened interest in spiritual things was manifested, it was felt that the results were scarcely commensurate with the efforts made. At Epworth, however, the Native Church was refreshed and reinvigorated by the coming of distinctly spiritual influence into the Church. Old men and women had their bonds broken, and stepped out of the slavery of sin and superstition into Christian liberty. More than forty yielded themselves up as the bondsmen of Christ Jesus. The financial contribution of a Church is not necessarily a true test of its spiritual attainment, but when it is a feature added to an unquestionable moral and spiritual experience it emphasizes the latter, and where the people are poor it is an expression of the sacrificial spirit not to be disparaged. When, therefore, we remember that only twelve years before this time the Mashona and Matabele peoples were ignorant, degraded, and cruel, and that within that period the work of the Christian Church had suffered the severe dislocations of rebellion and of the war that followed, then the fact that the Epworth Native congregation out of its poverty brought £400 into the treasury of the Lord, and that the Church at Buluwayo not only supported its own Minister as well as the schoolmaster,

but in a single collection offered £32 for extension work, it is easy to see that a definite Christian spirit possessed the Church, and that in that spirit it was certain to move forward into fuller life. Another sign that cheered the Missionaries at this time was the spirit of service in the members of the Church. Gradually a more efficient body of Native workers came into existence, and the staff of Local Preachers numbered thirty-four.

Up to this time all the Mission stations in Rhodesia were to be found south of the Zambezi, and it was a convenience that the line of rails from Bechuanaland to Salisbury ran for the most part through the country where they were situated; but the railway was soon pushed as far as three hundred miles north of the Zambezi, and it became evident that the Church would soon be called to the regions thus opened up. It was well, therefore, that the work in southern Rhodesia had been consolidated, and every token of a deeper Christian experience in the older stations was of value as a presage of new missionary enterprise in the near future. One further preparation for advance may be mentioned here. In 1905 the Chairman was able to announce the completion of his translation of the New Testament in Mashona. Only those who have added such work to the burden of superintending a Mission station, with its incessant interruptions, can appreciate the diligence and devotion represented by such an accomplishment. When we add to this that Mr. White during these years also carried the burden of District administration we may well glorify the grace of God in the gifts vouchsafed to His servant. But there is a further consideration to be made in this connexion. The Church in Rhodesia was now approaching a new period in its development. Up to the year 1905—a broken, troubled period at best—it had been severely limited in its resources. There was no indigenous ministry. Its teachers were few and imperfectly trained. The Missionaries were a mere handful of overworked men, and the means of communication between station and station were most difficult. The work of inspection necessitated days and weeks of travel, while the pastoral care of English settlers levied a further tax upon time and energy. But now the much-longed-for Native ministry was beginning to appear, and with it came calls of ever-increasing urgency from 'the regions beyond.' It now

became possible to send teachers and preachers in answer to those calls, their feet ' shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace,' and armed with ' the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.' It is no wonder that the Missionaries were full of heart and hope.

But much still remained to be done in southern Rhodesia, and the names of new stations were continually appearing in the annual report. One of these was Kwenda, a district lying between Altona and the Portuguese boundary, and another was Gambo, which lies north of Tegwani and west of Buluwayo. The former was among the Mashona, the latter among the Matabele people. The Rev. W. T. Grantham arrived in Rhodesia in 1904 and was sent to Kwenda. The station was more isolated than others in the District, and during his first two years Grantham had seen only six white men at his station. Salisbury was a hundred miles away. The Natives in this remote station were more than usually degraded, and the vices of heathenism were everywhere in evidence. For a young probationer to be sent alone to such an outpost was a policy necessitated by the shortage of Missionaries, and his experience was likely to test him in many ways. But within two years a considerable amount of fruit had been gathered in this Circuit. Within six months the chapel erected was found to be too small, and 56 members were meeting in Class. There was, of course, much opposition from witch-doctors, rain-makers, and chiefs, who saw clearly that with the coming of light and freedom their own hold upon the people would grow less and less, but even in those first days those who followed Jesus accepted His Cross, and were proud to follow under that sign. Of the chief, Gambo, we have already written. Though he himself gave no sign of being personally attracted to Christianity, he was shrewd enough to see the advantage of education for his children, and his two sons were sent to the Mission school at Tegwani. The chief was also fortunate in coming under the personal influence of Mr. W. E. Thomas, one of the wisest and best of the British Commissioners, of whom Mr. Stanlake says, ' He would sooner sacrifice his position than see injustice done to the Natives.'

Gambo now asked for a teacher to be appointed to his kraal. Mr. Stanlake was the first Missionary to begin work at Gambo,

and he was confident that the material of a most successful Mission centre was to be found there. A teacher was appointed, a chapel was built, and every effort made to make clear to the Native mind the great central truths of the Christian religion. In 1905 five adults were baptized and received into full membership, and in 1908 another station was opened at Zuzumba.

We may here pause in our record of the development of the different Circuits in the District to consider the local variation of a problem which has confronted us in other fields. The question of White and Black in Rhodesia differs slightly from that which we found in Natal, though when we come to its essential factors it is much the same. Here the vexed question is not complicated by the introduction of Indian labour, nor is it, as elsewhere, a question of whether the European may dispossess the African of his land. The Matabele had so thoroughly depopulated whole tracts of the country that there was plenty of good land for everybody, and the Chartered Company had from the first wisely reserved ample areas within which the Native could cultivate his fields without fear of eviction. The problem seemed in Rhodesia to be much simpler, at any rate in expression, being reducible to such terms as, 'How may Black and White live together and work together in worthy citizenship?' It must be confessed that perhaps the majority of European settlers approached the question with a considerable amount of prejudice, and as time went on the inconsistency of the position became apparent to all. Dependent upon Native labour as they undoubtedly were, they showed it a meagre amount of respect. They complained of the Native as lazy; yet they regarded with some amount of anxiety any attempt he might make to take up branches of work which they found lucrative. They made little attempt to acquire the Native vernacular, but were impatient with the workman who could not understand their own; and again, they were uneasy if their servants understood English well enough to follow the conversation of their master at table. Of course there were not a few honourable exceptions, but it is to be feared that the average Englishman in Rhodesia, as elsewhere, assumed the natural inferiority of the African, and while they found it most to their own advantage that it should continue, they complained

of every failure of what they regarded as 'an animated machine' to turn out the product they demanded. They were unwilling or somewhat afraid to make the 'machine' more perfect, yet they complained of its inefficiency. They dubbed the Native 'useless,' yet objected to the Missionary who sought to make him useful. It must be confessed that the African is involved in difficulties wherever he seeks to fit himself for worthy citizenship.

The Missionary, too, found himself in a very difficult position. He was the Pastor of both White and Black, and was in fullest sympathy with both. He could not be blind to the selfish inconsistency of the one, or to the moral and intellectual failure of the other. The two races were loudly proclaimed 'incompatibles,' and the Missionary often wondered how the miracle was to be brought about whereby these two—like Jew and Gentile in former days—should become 'one new man in Christ Jesus.' His task was far greater than that of reconciliation; it was that of union—and union where nature itself seemed to have raised a most formidable 'middle wall of partition.' Patience is needed by both Black and White, and with patience unconquerable confidence that some day a mutual respect will bring the two races together. The white man has the Native's respect to win, and he sometimes fails to do so; the black man has to prove that in mental and moral energy he also is a man. There is one solvent of the refractory elements in both, and it is to be found where St. Paul found it. The 'one new man' of the apostolic vision was found 'in Christ,' and it is where that divinest fellowship is fully realized that the truest union will one day be found. Meantime the Missionaries found it uphill work to bring the two together, and the extent to which feeling on the part of some had developed may be illustrated by the fact that 'when the pastorate of a certain Church fell vacant, one of its leading lights publicly stated that they wanted a Minister who would hold himself severely aloof from the Natives.'[1]

To return to the work in the different Mission Stations. After awhile it was found that both because of its inaccessibility, and because of its unhealthiness, Kwenda was not suitable as a Mission station, and in 1908 Baker, who had

[1] Rev. A. Walton, *The Foreign Field*, 1908, p. 233.

been transferred thither from Selukwe, removed to Chimanza, about twenty miles away. Here a farm of fifteen hundred acres had been acquired, and it was hoped that the Missionary stationed here would be able to influence the large Native community lying in the Wedza Reserve. On the occasion of their first visit the Missionaries were not well received. The chief cursed them, and the people at best were indifferent. In a very few months, however, all that was changed, as the villagers discovered that the Missionary was indeed their friend. The removal from the one station to the other was a trying experience. The wagon in which the furniture of the family was being moved stuck fast in a bog, and the Missionary, his wife, and child—not daring to risk a night in the open country—came to an empty house after dark. For three weeks they had no stove for cooking, and boxes and blankets formed the sole furniture of their home. Among the heroes of the Mission-field the Missionary's wife may well be accorded the highest place. Then began the round of visiting suspicious villagers, and the patient teaching of men and women who were absolute strangers to the most elementary rules of morality, while religious and spiritual truths were all but incomprehensible. But the Christian Gospel soon awakens a response in the human heart, and within the space of three years there was a Christian Church in Chimanza with 47 members on its roll, while the Circuit of which it was the centre returned 73 members, with 156 on trial. With the exception of Epworth and Buluwayo there was no Circuit of larger membership. The full harvest was not yet, whether we reckon in numbers or in spiritual attainment, but in their personal allegiance to Christ, and in their acceptance of His law as the governing factor of their lives, there were potentialities which only the superficial or the ignorant could disparage, while in their readiness for sacrifice the spirit of their Master was already clear to see. The increase of unremunerated service in the Church is always indicative of much. It reveals a sacrificial element in the Church, a free-will offering, often rendered in toil and suffering, and therefore of great price, for it is the suffering Church that is really strong. This form of service promised—as in South Africa and in the Transvaal it had actually accomplished—a rapid extension of the Church. In 1909 the number of Local Preachers in

Rhodesia was ninety-two, an increase of thirty in a single year. One instance of the effect of such work must suffice. in 1901 a Native Local Preacher from Cape Colony began to hold services at one of the mines in the Selukwe Circuit. There was no one to give him help or encouragement, but in 1908 there were at that one centre 300 persons on the roll of membership, and the work was almost entirely self-supporting.

It is long since we made any reference in this record to the northern outpost of this District at Hartleyton. The large Mission farm of thirteen thousand acres was well situated, but the work of getting the people to accept Christ as their Lord and Saviour was more difficult than at other centres, and progress was slow. In the paucity of European Missionaries the work was entrusted to Native agents, and it was not until 1907 that a European Missionary, in the person of the Rev. W. T. Grantham, could be appointed there. But before he had accomplished a year's service in the station Mr. Grantham retired from the ministry. A lay Missionary, Mr. J. Butler, was then appointed, and in 1912 the Rev. J. H. Loveless was in charge. By that time it was seen that a still farther extension to the north should be made, and Mr. Loveless was entrusted with the work of inaugurating it. Unhappily a breakdown in health necessitated his return to England, but in 1913 he was back at Hartleyton, and at last the Church in that place began to show signs of growth. In 1913 there were 28 members, with 143 on probation.

Before the Centenary year, however, the Chairman, John White, had set out on a journey memorable to himself for more reasons than one, and indicating the probable line of advance for the Methodist Church in Rhodesia. Chikara, the son of a Barawano chief, who himself succeeded shortly after to the chieftaincy of the tribe, was converted to Christ while at work on one of the mines in southern Rhodesia. Before returning to his home he had implored the Chairman to send a teacher to his tribe, but as the Barawano resided some two hundred miles north of the Zambezi it seemed impossible to grant his request. Some time after White determined to visit the new chief that he might see whether there was any prospect of opening up work among the Barawano people. After a

journey of incredible hardship he came at last to those whom he sought, and found a large tribe desirous of hearing the word of life, and ready to welcome the Christian teacher. Before he returned White was able to select a suitable site for a Mission house, and hoped that it might be possible to place there a European Missionary, with Native evangelists to help him. So in 1912 the Methodist Church crossed the great river that had seemed to be their northern boundary, and the Rev. J. H. Loveless was appointed to undertake the work of the pioneer and establish missionary work in this far-flung outpost of the Church. But, as we have seen, his health failed, and the task fell to the lot of the Rev. S. D. Grey. With him there went two men—Christians, be it remembered, of only a few years' experience of the grace and power of Christ, yet they left their homes, their wives and children, to carry to this far-off tribe the Gospel that had kindled a holy flame within their hearts. Again we would say that the Church which has borne such fruit has in itself the seed of a life whose issues for Africa can never be foretold. The name of the new station was Chipembi, and the appointment of a Missionary enabled work to be undertaken at the Broken Hill mine, which was situated in the vicinity.

But even before this striking advance had been made the country had been claimed for Christ, and the seal of a supreme sacrifice was upon the claim. In 1908 the Rev. W. Comber Burgess, at that time a Minister of the South Africa Conference, informed that Conference that it had been laid upon his heart to preach the Gospel of Christ in these regions so far beyond the outposts of the Church. He sought no support for himself either from that Conference or from the mother Church in England, but he begged for his release from the Circuit to which he had been appointed. The Conference was not convinced of the wisdom of this undertaking, but could put no obstacle in the way of one who was so clear in his conviction of a Divine call for him, and of a binding obligation in consequence. So Burgess went alone far north of the Zambezi in simple obedience to the heavenly vision. Few more heroic incidents can be found in the annals of the Church, Some time after his departure Mr. White received from him a letter, and a brief extract which we make is eloquent as to the manner of life he accepted in loyalty to Christ :

> My hardships have been great. Sometimes I have only one meal a day, and that porridge without either sugar or milk. But this between ourselves. I frequently get wet through three or four times a day.

There could only be one end, humanly speaking, to life under such conditions. Burgess was stricken down with fever, which an imperfectly nourished body could not resist, and after only five months of work he died in the house of a friendly Dutchman, being carried there by his Native friends. When White visited the Barawano he stood by the grave of this heroic follower of Christ, and he must have felt that the lonely grave was the pledge of the Methodist Church that all that country was claimed for Christ. The closing paragraph of White's account of his visit may well be quoted *in extenso* :

> Mr. Oosthuisen, who nursed him at the end, remarked, 'We buried him, as the Dutch custom is, with his face to the rising sun.' This simple act is deeply significant. When he passed away night was over all that region, but by faith his eyes were steadily looking for the crimson dawn. And if the Church of Christ will loyally follow where he led, the Sun of Righteousness will surely rise, and flood with light all that land of darkness and death.

In the last report which has reached us while this chapter was being written we find that Mr. Grey is still at Chipembi, and returns 500 members on trial for full recognition. It is sad to record that the Christian chief, Chikara, at whose invitation the Chairman had crossed the Zambezi, did not live to see the establishment of Christianity among his people. The pathetic ruins of a little chapel which he had built in anticipation of the coming of the Missionary were all that remained when at last they arrived, but those ruins were the token of a faith which would not fail to be honoured by Him who is the Author and Finisher of faith. A new church has now been built, and Chikara's purpose will one day receive a fulfilment far beyond all that he saw.

While these striking events were transpiring on the outskirts of the District the work at the centre had not been allowed to slacken. In 1908 an obscure siding on the railway suddenly sprang into prominence, and in 1910 a town existed where two years before there had been no trace of one. The cause

of this was, as may be inferred, the discovery of gold in the neighbourhood, and in an incredibly short space of time 'Gatooma' had become a name known to brokers and mining agents all over the world. In a description given by the Rev. W. Garner he contemplates that the new gold-field will become by far the most important in Rhodesia. The Wesleyans were quick in accepting the new responsibility, and in 1910 Mr. Garner was appointed to this station. He was the first resident Minister in the town. The usual conditions of a mining centre were soon apparent. The 'narrowing lust of gold' seems to materialize life wherever it shows itself, but there is always a 'stock' which keeps the secret of truer life, and Garner was able presently to gather together a company of those who had not fallen in worship before the golden image. In 1912 there was a Christian community of 55, 15 of whom were members of the Church. But surrounding these and creating a still wider range of responsibility was a crowd of Native labourers numbering ten thousand and residing in the compounds familiar in all South African mining districts. Many of these labourers had come in contact with Christian teaching while in their homes, and the nucleus of a Church was ready to hand. In 1911 there were 113 of these meeting in Class, and in the Centenary year which followed that number had been increased to 253.

A happy feature of the Rhodesia field is to be found in the fact that so many Missionaries were able to continue their service for comparatively long periods. In the Centenary year we find on the staff of the District such experienced Missionaries as the Chairman, John White, H. Oswald Brigg, Avon Walton, Herbert J. Baker, and J. W. Stanlake, all of whom had been long at work. Their accumulated experience was a most valuable asset of the Church. In the Centenary year, among the names of those who had comparatively recently arrived in the District we find one that arrests attention as indicating a new departure in the history of the Rhodesia Mission. It is that of Mr. S. Osborn, M.B., Ch.B., who had come to the Mission as a layman Missionary. The installation of medical work in this field had been long desired, and the period under review was happily not to close without seeing the beginning of such work. It was decided that the first hospital should be opened at Kwenda, in Mashonaland,

and sufficient accommodation was provided for eighteen in-patients.

The Centenary year was eagerly anticipated in Rhodesia as in other parts of the Mission-field, and no happier report of the celebrations could have been given than that which describes the day as one of spiritual awakening. There were signs of a quickened life in all the Native Churches, and in some of them conversions continued to occur long after the day had passed.

Our record approaches its close, but some little space must be found for indicating the progress of the Nengubo Training Institution, for the assertion may be confidently made that the future of the Church in Rhodesia depends, under God, upon the contribution which this institution will be able to make to the general life of the Church. We have seen that the Rev. Avon Walton relieved the Chairman of this work in 1904, and for eight years he continued to serve in this all-important sphere. In 1912 Walton was succeeded by the Rev. H. J. Baker, who added the very desirable adjunct of an industrial department to the school. The work accomplished has always earned a good report, and it is difficult to see how the Synod could have provided teachers in response to the many appeals that come to them but for the steady supply which the institution afforded year by year. When Mr. Baker became principal in 1912 there were twenty-five students being trained for the work of evangelists and teachers. There were also twenty others who paid for the instruction they received. On Sundays bands of students visited the kraals in the neighbourhood of Nengubo, and not a few were added to the Church through their efforts. The spiritual awakening of Centenary Day was nowhere more apparent than in Nengubo. In addition to the institution there is a considerable Circuit of which this station is the head, and in 1913 there were more than three hundred persons enjoying the privilege of spiritual fellowship within it. The institution has always been hampered for want of suitable buildings, and it was hoped that one result of the Centenary celebrations would be a much-needed extension in this direction. But this, necessary as it is, would not be so great a matter as the building up of believers in their most precious faith, and the first-fruits of this have already been given to the Church at Nengubo.

The numerical statistics returned from this District in 1913 are most instructive:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chapels and other Preaching-places | 63 |
| Missionaries | 12 |
| Native Ministers | 4 |
| Catechists | 46 |
| Local Preachers | 193 |
| Church Members | 1,451 |
| (Of these 195 were English) | |
| Members on Probation | 2,150 |
| Children in Schools | 2,738 |

And it was in 1891 that Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin crossed the Limpopo River and came to Salisbury.

We close this chapter of the history of the Methodist Church in Africa profoundly convinced that whatever the record of the past may be, it will be eclipsed by the story of the future, and probably of the near future. Are 'the people called Methodists' prepared to receive God's answer to their prayers?

# PART IV

## Missions in Europe

# I

## THE EARLIER MISSIONS

A skeleton Map—Andrew Armour in Gibraltar—James M'Mullen—Dr. W. H. Rule—The Attempt in Cadiz—A Missionary Objective—Steps towards Palestine—Malta—Zante—Alexandria—The Call to Sweden — Samuel Owen — George Scott — Violent Opposition—Withdrawal.

In the *Minutes* of the Conference held in 1814, the foreign stations assumed the form which they retain to this day, and appeared under the four divisions of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. That is to say that the Conference adopted a world-scheme for the Church's Mission. It endorsed John Wesley's famous delineation of his 'parish.' It was a magnificent outline. The 'map' thus presented to the Methodist Church was confessedly a 'skeleton map,' but in the century that followed the programme was made good, and the Methodist Church was to be found in each of the spheres thus marked out. The section of the history of this proposed scheme of world-evangelization to which we have now come covers the attempt of the Church to advance and to strengthen the Protestant movement in Europe, and the first foothold of the Church in that continent was found in Gibraltar—a name which had appeared in the Conference list of stations since 1807, though the witness of the Methodist Church had been given in that historic bulwark of the Empire from as early as 1792.

The Methodist occupation of Gibraltar had a twofold object. It was hoped that it would afford a suitable *pied à terre* from which an advance might be made into the Iberian peninsula, and it was also regarded as the first step towards the evangelization of the countries lying east of the Mediterranean. The Balearic Islands, Malta, Zante and Greece, Alexandria and Palestine, were all in prospect as Mission stations for the Methodist Church to occupy. It must be remembered that when the Missionary Society was formed the Ionian Islands

were subject to the British Crown, and the Church has always hoped that a nobler 'Crusade' might one day make Palestine a Christian country. We shall see presently that this dream was never fulfilled, but it may well be said to Richard Watson and other leaders who fashioned the great scheme, 'It was well that it was in thy heart.' For the present, however, we must return to Gibraltar.

The Methodist witness in this place, as in so many others, was first borne by British soldiers, and a singularly complete account of this is to be found in the *Methodist Magazine* for 1802, where a letter of a soldier appears written from Edinburgh in 1801. From this it appears that in 1792 a few soldiers belonging to regiments stationed in Gibraltar began to hold services among themselves. Their leader was Andrew Armour, of whom we shall hear again. He was born near Glasgow, and entered the army when he was seventeen years of age. While his regiment was in Ireland he attended a service in the Wesleyan chapel, and there he found the Captain of his salvation. While in Gibraltar he and a few others met together for worship and for mutual encouragement. Others joined them, and presently the matter became talked about. Armour appeared before the Governor, who fortunately happened to be a right-minded man. Hearing that they were Wesleyans, he gave permission for the services to be continued, expressing at the same time the hope that they would not neglect their duty as soldiers. The numbers of those attending their service increased, and they hired a room, but after a time they proceeded to build a chapel. This cost them £120, and when it was finished it is recorded with justifiable pride that 'there was not a penny of debt on it.' When war broke out in 1793 they were scattered abroad, and they went everywhere preaching the word.

The first Methodist Missionary to be sent to Gibraltar was the Rev. James M'Mullen. He arrived there on October 1, 1804, and his first and last letter to Dr. Coke appears in the *Methodist Magazine* of 1805. After suffering much by reason of storms, he landed to find an epidemic of yellow fever in Gibraltar. He describes the pitiful condition to which the inhabitants were reduced, and the letter closes with anxiety for his wife, in whom the preliminary symptoms of fever had appeared. The letter was never sent to its destination by

M'Mullen. Eight days after it was written he himself was attacked by the fever, and his death was followed by that of his wife. They left a little girl, who was taken to England, and who lived to become the mother of the Rev. Dr. Rigg.

For some years no appointment was made to fill the vacancy thus created, and when work was resumed it consisted almost entirely of military work among the soldiers who formed the garrison. Perhaps the most notable name among those who served in Gibraltar is that of William Barber, who landed in Gibraltar in January, 1825, and at once began the study of Spanish in the hope of being able at some future time to begin work in Spain. But within three years he was carried off by the same deadly fever as that to which M'Mullen had succumbed. In the following year Dr. Joseph Stinson, whose work in Canada has already been described,[1] spent two years in this station. He reports unfavourably of the work among the Spaniards, though there was abundant opportunity for service among the soldiers. Another notable name in the early years of the century is that of Dr. W. H. Rule. He had been first appointed to Malta in 1826, but his stay in that island only lasted for one year. Dr. Rule was a man of intellectual gifts above the average, and was filled with zeal and energy. His mind was always clear and his will determined. But such gifts often make a man difficult as a colleague, and relations between Rule and Keeling, who had preceded him and was his senior in Malta, were far from easy or pleasant. He left Malta, and after three years in St. Vincent[2] he was appointed to Gibraltar in 1832. He remained here for nine years, and was most energetic and unsparing in securing for Methodist soldiers the freedom to which they were entitled in matters of religion. He became greatly involved in financial difficulty by reason of his attempts to provide a suitable chapel. Both he and the Committee suffered much by reason of the impetuous and headstrong way in which he approached this business. He sought and obtained from the Committee the advantage of a second Minister on this station, the Rev. John Garrett joining him in 1834. This enabled Rule to give himself more fully to Spanish work. He set himself with characteristic determination to secure the circulation of the Scriptures in Spain. He visited Cadiz, Madrid, and Seville in the hope of

[1] See Vol, I., pp. 393, 459, &c.

[2] See Vol. II., p. 182.

being able to start work in those places. In the first named he actually began work, and held the first Class-meeting in that town. Within twelve months, however, he was compelled by the magistrates to withdraw. We next find him on Spanish soil at St. Roque, where he insisted upon his right to minister to members of Society who had removed thither from Gibraltar.

His enthusiasm infected the Committee, for we find them speculating as to whether it would be possible to send a worker from Gibraltar to Buenos Ayres, from which an application had been received. 'Gibraltar,' says the Committee, 'might thus become a nursery for the Spanish work, and, the blessing of God favouring, agents might be trained for preaching the Gospel in Spanish America as well as in Spain itself.' Rule had not abandoned hope of securing an entrance into Cadiz, and in 1837 an agent was sent there to begin school work and to distribute copies of the Scriptures. For a short time it seemed as if he would be permitted to remain in Cadiz, but in 1839 the Romish priests proved to be too much for even so fearless an antagonist as Dr. Rule, and both he and Mr. Lyon were definitely excluded from Cadiz. From that time until 1868 entrance into Spain on the part of Protestant Ministers and teachers was barred. The few Spaniards who professed evangelical principles were first imprisoned and then banished.

In 1841 Dr. Rule returned to England, having fought a good fight for truth and freedom. Few could have confronted the power of the Roman Church in Spain with the courage and determination which he showed. But that Church was too strong at that time for even Dr. Rule, and a quarter of a century was to pass before freedom in the worship of God was given to Spain.

For a few years longer work among the Spaniards in Gibraltar continued to be carried on, but it gradually declined, until at last the work of the Wesleyan Church in Gibraltar, as in Malta, found its one sphere among the British soldiers and sailors in those two great outposts of the British Empire.

. . . . . .

Among the earlier Missions upon which the Methodist Church entered, those which were situated on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean form a brief and disappointing page of our history. They seem to have been the product of a devout imagination rather than of a well-balanced

judgement. Greece, Egypt, and Palestine were names to conjure with, and the sentiment they aroused seems to have been both to the Committee and to the Church at large the determining cause of the enterprise. Especially was this the case with one part of the Mission scheme which was never even begun. There is no doubt that the magnet which attracted attention to the Mediterranean was Palestine. The other stations were held to be so many points to be first occupied with a view to the larger scheme, of which they were only preliminaries. That this was the real objective of the Society appears from the Report of 1823, which says :

> The Committee have for some time contemplated the establishment of a Mission in Palestine, and it has recently been resolved to send out two persons of suitable qualifications. Jerusalem is designed to be the scene of their labours, and they will be directed not merely to visit it, but, should God grant them an open door for exertion, to remain there, with a view to the establishment of a permanent Mission. To the lively interests of the friends of Missions the Committee need not commend this enterprise ; the hope of giving back a portion of evangelical light to the country which witnessed its dawn and its meridian splendour cannot but awaken their ardour and command their co-operation. But they commend it to their earnest prayers, that the best means of making known a long-rejected Saviour may be pointed out to the agents employed ; that Muhammadan hostility, Jewish unbelief, and Christian superstition may be removed by Him whose Spirit commands all hearts ; that Jerusalem may again witness its disciples ' in an upper room,' its Pentecostal effusion of grace, if not of the gifts of the Spirit, and its thousands pricked to their hearts, and asking ' What shall we do ? ' Mr. Cook, of the French Mission, is about to proceed immediately to Palestine, and, should the opening be found favourable, he will be followed by others.

In this statement the underlying motives of the attempt are perfectly clear, but the missionary enterprise of the Methodist Church in the Near East never survived its infancy. Indeed, some of the stations put before the Church as centres of evangelical effort remained a mere projection of the thought and purpose of the Missionary Secretariat. It was known that Richard Watson especially had his imagination kindled, and his heart filled with a worthy emotion, by the idea of a Methodist Mission in the Holy Land. But it would be a great injustice to censure the officers of the Society for these abortive attempts ; they only focused and reflected the dominant feeling of the Church in the earlier decades of the nineteenth

century. In the peace which followed upon the Napoleonic wars, when the naval supremacy of England was established on all the seas, English traders were searching all lands for openings in commerce. Missionary subscribers were fertile in theories and suggestions as to what should be done, and pressed them eagerly upon the several Societies. With a growing public interest in foreign Missions and an expanding income, the temptation to rash adventure under the form of an enterprising faith was dangerously strong ; for every proposal entertained by the advisers of our Society probably ten were declined. In a Church created by itinerant evangelism it was hard to resist the tendency to spread its forces over an area greater than it could adequately cover. The ' Prospectus ' of the Missionary Society with a view to establishing Missions in the eastern Mediterranean appears in the official Report for 1825, and runs as follows :

> The intercourse which has, in so extraordinary and unexpected a manner, sprung up between this country and Egypt, has brought this very degraded, and, in modern times, almost forgotten country under the special attention of those who, by watching the march of providence, fail not to discover, in the present age of merciful dispensation, those indications of duty to the Church by which that mercy is appointed to be conveyed to all the nations of the earth. The reviving commerce of Egypt has already led to the residence of many of our countrymen at its principal seaport, who are as yet destitute, for the most part, of Christian ordinances, in that land of Muhammadan darkness and almost extinct Christianity ; and it can scarcely be supposed that permanent and active Missions can be established there without providing the means for carrying forward the blessed truths of our Gospel into those regions with which Egypt stands naturally connected, and which the enterprises of commerce are bringing into still more intimate relations. A qualified Missionary has therefore been appointed for Alexandria, and by his communications the future operations of the Society in that quarter will be regulated.

Previous to this the Rev. Charles Cook had been sent from France to report on the feasibility of establishing a Mission in Palestine, and his report had been generally favourable. The Missionary thus appointed to Alexandria was the Rev. Donald Macpherson. Prior to his sailing the Rev. John Keeling had been sent to Malta, and in 1827 the Rev. W. O. Croggon was removed from France to Zante. With reference to this latter Mission it is stated that the Committee regarded it as

> affording a valuable post of observation from which suitable preparations

may be made for the communication of scriptural influence to different parts of Greece. At present Mr. Croggon is principally engaged in private instruction, the opportunities of exercising his public ministry being only occasional. Recently Dr. Bialloblotski, formerly Lecturer of Divinity at the University of Göttingen, has been appointed to join him in order to embrace the first opportunity of visiting the Morea and Palestine.

Apparently at that time the British Government was encouraging the education of Greek youths in English, and the Lord High Commissioner, Lord Guildford, commended the efforts of the Missionaries in this direction. Croggon was appointed 'Professor of English Language for the Ionian Islands' by him. But after his death this work fell into abeyance. Other adverse circumstances arose. Mrs. Croggon died, and her death was greatly lamented by those of the Greeks who had come under her gracious influence. Dr. Bialloblotski returned without permission to England and was shortly afterwards found to be unorthodox, with the consequence that he disappeared from the Methodist ministry. In 1834 the Committee reported the work in the Ionian Islands to be disappointing. They could not be content with a merely scholastic agency, and there seemed no prospect of an 'effectual door' being opened either in Greece or in Palestine, while far more fruitful fields were opening before them in the west. It was therefore decided to abandon the Mission in the Ionian Islands, but to continue that in Alexandria. But though the Committee still regarded this latter station with hope, the prospect there was little better. Macpherson's name disappears from the Report in 1830, and his place was taken by the Rev. James Bartholomew. A school for Arab boys was opened, and services were held for seamen and other English folk visiting Alexandria, but there was no indication of any aggressive work amongst the Muhammadans being started, and in 1834 the Missionary Committee reluctantly withdrew the Missionary and abandoned the station. There were better opportunities offering in the West Indies and in America.

The last Missionary sent to Alexandria was the Rev. R. M. MacBrair, of whose work in West Africa we have already written.[1] Many years after—in 1896—proposals were made to the Committee by the Rev. M. J. Elliott, then appointed

[1] See p. 129.

to be military chaplain in Alexandria, for reopening definitely missionary operations in this city, but the Committee was obliged to decline for want of adequate funds. The Mission in Malta continued a little longer, but it was found that the operations of the Missionaries did not extend to the Maltese, and in 1843 this station, too, was abandoned. In 1869 naval and military work was taken up, as at Alexandria, by chaplains appointed for that purpose.

. . . . . .

The appearance of the Methodist Church in Sweden had for its immediate cause an incident similar to those which in other countries led to a spiritual life which fully justified its enterprise. Nothing indicates the reality of the evangelical revival with which the Wesleys were so closely identified more clearly than the fact that those who had thereby been brought into a definite Christian experience carried wherever they went the good seed which had quickened their own souls. Early in the nineteenth century, a devout Methodist of Norwich invited one of his workmen, Samuel Owen, to go with him to the Methodist chapel in that city. There Samuel Owen was led to make the great surrender to Christ which always brings the larger freedom. Shortly after this Owen was sent to Stockholm to superintend the erection of a steam engine, and after a time he built a foundry of his own. So successful was he, and so fully was his work appreciated by the Swedish Government, that he received from the king the Vasa order of knighthood. Owen had in his employ other workmen from England, and presently he applied to the Wesleyan Missionary Society for a Minister to be sent to be their spiritual guide, and to conduct their worship. The first Missionary sent in response to this appeal was the Rev. J. R. Stephens, who remained in Stockholm for four years.[1] He was followed by the Rev. George Scott, and with these Ministers the Methodist Mission to Sweden was both begun and closed. Scott describes the Lutheran Church, at that time the Established Church of Sweden, as being fully organized and admirably adapted to promote the instruction of the people, but while in form it left little to be desired it was lacking in power. He conceived it to be his duty not to seek the establishment of a Methodist Church so much as to revive spiritual religion in the existing Church.

[1] 1826–1830.

He did not attempt, therefore, to organize a Society, and the institution of Class-meetings was not attempted, but he sought by preaching and by dealing with individual cases to further the work of God in the hearts of men. He claimed that his catholicity of spirit secured for him a general confidence. There is no doubt that up to a certain point he was most successful. Crowds flocked to attend the services he conducted, and English folk of every denomination were glad to accept his ministry. In 1832 he was appointed the corresponding agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and as by this time he had learned to speak Swedish, his services were correspondingly increased in value. The American Bible Society also sought and obtained his co-operation. Presently it was decided to erect a larger chapel, to which the Society in England voted £500, and a chapel to accommodate twelve hundred persons was erected, together with a manse for the Preacher. To secure financial help towards this building he visited America, and this led to his undoing, for in his fervid appeals for help he spoke of the Swedes in terms which they considered to be provocative and offensive. A report of his speeches was sent to Sweden, and on his return from America to resume his Mission a storm of abuse broke over his head. He was lampooned in the public Press, spat upon in the streets, driven from his pulpit, and mobbed in his house. It is possible that there were other causes of this outburst of animosity. Political suspicion and ecclesiastical jealousy may have had something to do with the matter. It was known that before the larger chapel was begun the Archbishop and the Consistory had urged that in sanctioning the erection the Government should prohibit the use of any language but English in the worship conducted within it, and though this suggestion was not accepted the publication of Dr. Scott's American speeches may have given a handle to opponents who never came to light. But, whatever the cause or causes may have been, it was clear that no good purpose would be served by Scott remaining longer in Stockholm, and the Committee instructed him to sell the property and return to England.

One good result, however, remained to this short-lived effort. Among the many signs which Scott saw of a loss of spiritual life in the Church was the absence of anything like a sense of responsibility for missionary effort amongst those that were

'out of the way,' but in 1834 Scott was able to report the formation of an Association entitled 'The Swedish Missionary Society for the Spread of Protestant Doctrine among the Heathen.' Of this Society Count Rosenblad, one of the Ministers of State, was President; the Bishops of Stockholm and Gothenburg were members of the Board of Directors, and Dr. Scott was appointed Secretary. The Board had sent a Missionary to Lapland, but when, after a year, there seemed no prospect of continuing his support, the Board sent the sum of £100 to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in recognition of the work done in St. Bartholomew, an island in the West Indies at that time under the Swedish Crown. This amount was sent for four years in succession, with other sums sent in relief of distress in that island owing to a hurricane. The Board also gave the sum of £60 towards the support of a school in St. Bartholomew, to which the sister of Dr. Scott was sent as principal. Previous to her departure this lady was commended to God by the prayers of those assembled for the purpose in the cathedral of Gothenburg. Later on Dr. Scott spoke of the Mission to Lapland as having borne marvellous fruit, the Minister sent having been one of his converts in Stockholm. Sixteen years afterwards in the annual report the Secretaries revert to this abandoned Mission, and record the fact that during that period the cause of religion had gained much in Sweden.

> Many of its provinces have been visited by extraordinary revivals, and the pious people, once few and uninfluential, are now very numerous. In fact, to a certain extent a national quickening has taken place.

Dr. Scott returned to England in 1842, and with his return the Mission to Sweden was abandoned.

## II

## THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Revolution in Spain—Barcelona—The Balearic Islands—Hopes Unfulfilled—Robert Simpson—Madrid—J. G. Wheatcroft Brown—Franklyn G. Smith—An Outburst of Fanaticism—Tenacious Methodists—The Call from Portugal—Mr. James Cassels—R. H. Moreton—A hard Struggle—A. H. da Silva—An Attempt in Lisbon—Retirement of Robert Moreton.

We have seen how the efforts of the Methodist Church to introduce evangelical religion into Spain were foiled by the clerical party which was at the back of the civic authorities in Cadiz. That party was in the ascendant during the reign of Isabella II. 'The queen sought compensation for her unhappy marriage in sensual indulgence, and tried to cover the dissoluteness of her private life by a superstitious devotion to religion, and by throwing her influence on to the side of the clerical and reactionary party.'[1] The result was revolution, and it seemed at first as though Spain might come under democratic government. That idea was soon dispelled, but the temporary breakdown of the monarchy brought about a greater measure of toleration, especially in industrial centres such as Barcelona, and most of the evangelical Churches hastened to begin work in Spain. Our own Missionary Committee came under the influence of this new hope, and in December, 1868, the following resolution was adopted:

This Committee views with the deepest interest the extraordinary events which have just occurred in Spain—the fall of a power which has always resisted the introduction of the Bible and of Protestant Missions, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the suppression of the monasteries, and the proclamation of religious liberty—and it regards these results, notwithstanding any uncertainty which may yet hang over the future, as indicating with a clearness which cannot be mistaken the duty of the Protestant Churches of this country to supply to the people of Spain the light of evangelical truth.

[1] *Ency. Brit.*, Art. 'Spain.'

But the Committee goes on to declare its inability to incur additional financial responsibilities unless the Church will make it possible to do so. These two notes are apparent throughout the whole course of our subsequent operations in Spain. There is the recognition of both obligation and opportunity, but a half-hearted effort to meet the one or to accept the other.

The story of our work in Spain is the story, for the most part, of a single man striving against tremendous odds to bring to the people the light and truth of the Christian Gospel. How well the Missionary fought will be shown in the course of this chapter. But the difficulties he confronted in the social and religious atmosphere were accentuated by the fact that neither in ministerial assistance nor in the provision of suitable premises for his work did he receive the support which he needed for the propagating of the faith he had been sent to proclaim.

In 1868 the Missionary in Gibraltar was the Rev. G. Alton; and, in reply to a request for information, he wrote to the Committee a letter full of wisdom and sympathy. He had already sent to Granada an agent of the name of Alhama, with instructions how to 'act as a good man and a Methodist among his friends there, while pursuing his own calling as a hatter,' and he recommends the careful training of a number of such agents, and then sending them into Spain as colporteurs. Their experience would enable the Committee to judge whether there was any interest aroused among the Spaniards in religion, or whether it was entirely political. He warns the Committee that to establish a Mission in Spain would be costly, and suggests that a better plan would be the equipping of an indigenous ministry for the purpose of evangelization, and that immense good would follow upon the use of Christian literature, which might be widely disseminated. Such counsels were wise, nor did they reveal any lack of a desire to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land. Agents were accordingly sent to work along these lines in Barcelona, and also in the Balearic Islands, where a kindly memory of the British administration of those islands elicited a considerable amount of sympathy with the work thus begun. The response of the people in the islands was most encouraging, and religious enthusiasm quickly appeared, going together with a spirit

of liberality in the support of the work. The first Missionary to be sent to Barcelona was Mr. W. T. Brown. He had been employed as a layman at Hatton Garden, and had taken up work among Spanish sailors in the Port of London, having learnt Spanish for the purpose. Here, then, was the very man for the new Mission. He opened a school in Barcelona, and through intercourse with individuals in that city, by visiting the villages, and by distribution of the Scriptures he so worked that presently a little Church was formed, and by 1876 there were three preaching-places in Barcelona and the suburbs, with an aggregate membership of 23. In the Balearic Island progress was more rapid, the membership there amounting that year to 118. Mr. Brown continued to serve in Barcelona as a layman until 1879, when he was ordained and appointed to the Balearic Islands. Prior to that appointment a Missionary had appeared at Port Mahon in the person of the Rev. T. S. Dyson, but he had only been a few weeks at that place before he was killed by a fall from his horse. He was followed by the Rev. C. M. Greenway.

The hope and expectation with which the Spanish Mission had opened were short-lived, as short-lived as was the Republic whose inception had given them birth. In 1875 the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of Alfonso XII dashed whatever hope had been given to the Protestant evangelical Churches of Europe that Spain might enter into the blessedness of religious liberty, and might find new life through faith in Christ. It is true that the rigorous exclusiveness of the old clerical party was largely mitigated, but evangelistic effort became more and more difficult. The reinstated priesthood of Rome put every possible difficulty in the way of Protestant work among the people. The civil power was subordinated to the ecclesiastical, as was evidenced by their putting public education under clerical censorship, and even the most eminent professors in the University were liable to suspension from office if they taught anything contrary to Roman dogma. The Methodists took up their work again with heavy hearts. Greenway returned to England and entered the home work, and in 1875 the Rev. J. R. Griffin was the only ordained Minister in the new Mission. Brown was still in Minorca, and was abundant in labour, though greatly hampered by financial difficulties. Later on—in 1881—he writes :

My perplexity and toils have wrecked my health; but, like the ship's captain, I must go down with the ship rather than abandon the post of duty. Is all hope of help cut off?

For a second time in the space of three years the Mission suffered from the untimely death of its leader. The Rev. J. R. Griffin came to Barcelona with his health already undermined by pleurisy, and died with painful suddenness while attending a Conference of Spanish workers. During his short term of service he had greatly endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact. He was followed by one who accomplished much, but might have accomplished more if his physical strength had been equal to the demands which his spirit made upon it. Robert Simpson, of whom Romanists and Protestants alike used to say 'Don Roberto is a saint,' was a man in whom saintliness transfigured, but did not transform, the human quality which made him the friend of little children, and won for him the affection of all. The death of his predecessor made his first months arduous, as there was much that had to be put in order. But his business capacity was not the least of many gifts, and soon his strong and winsome personality found its full expression in his ministry of the Word. In spite of frequent failures in health he was able to remain in Barcelona for fourteen years, returning to England in 1889. In the last days of 1900 he passed to his fuller life.

The Committee sought to strengthen Simpson's hand by sending him the help he so sorely needed. In 1884 he was joined by the Rev. J. G. Wheatcroft Brown, and two years after he was followed by the Rev. Franklyn G. Smith, both of whom were destined to do much for Methodism in Spain. In 1884 there seemed a prospect of a notable advance being made in the opening which presented itself in the capital city of Madrid. For some years previously the agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society in that city had been a gentleman of the name of Corfield, who was also a member of the Wesleyan Church. Mr. Corfield had been instant in season and out of season in exhorting the Missionary Society to establish a Mission in Madrid; and, at the request of the Committee, Simpson visited Madrid in 1883 to report upon the prospect of a successful Mission in that city. In November of that year, by which time Mr. Corfield's health had necessitated his

return to England, the Madrid station was put under Simpson's care. Simpson was not very confident of the wisdom of this. Madrid was four hundred miles from Barcelona, and a journey of twenty hours was necessary before he could pass from one to the other. He was of opinion that a more fruitful field might have been found in the country which lay between the two chief cities of Spain, but he found that the agent who had been appointed had formed a little Church of some 30 members, and Simpson considered that the Missionary Society was bound to go forward with the work that had been thus begun. But the distance between the two cities was too great for the exercise of sufficient oversight by means of occasional visits, and in 1887 Brown was appointed to the work in Madrid. His first attempts to introduce Methodist order in the Church led to the secession of the agent who had been at work up to that time, and this considerably weakened the cause, which had scarcely come to anything like strength.

We need not follow in any detail the story of our effort to establish a Church in Madrid. On Simpson's retirement to England in 1889 Brown was brought back to Barcelona to be Chairman of the District. In 1890 the Rev. J. W. Lord, whom we have already met in the West Indies,[1] took charge of the work in Madrid, but in 1893 it was decided to abandon the work, not for want of success, but for lack of means to carry it on with anything like efficiency. Once again an opening which might have led to much was closed for want of support from the Church in England.

In 1888 Franklyn Smith had been sent to the Balearic Islands to replace W. T. Brown, and when Simpson returned to England for some months the care of Barcelona as well as of the somewhat extensive work in the islands devolved upon him. He spent altogether eight years in those islands, but in 1893 there occurred an outburst of fanaticism which at one time threatened to destroy all that had been so hardly won in the islands. During the Lent season of that year an episcopal pastoral announced the commencement of a 'Holy Mission,' with the avowed object of destroying Protestantism. Rioting followed, and the lives of our agents were in danger. Both at Pollensa and Cap de Pera the opposition set up was only too successful, and though the members of the Church remained

[1] See Vol. II., pp. 441–486.

faithful, anything like aggressive work was impossible. The Cap de Pera chapel was closed on the pretext that meetings to further the ' black arts ' were held in it, the reference being to lantern services which had been held. Government was appealed to, but, though it was agreed that the action of the local authorities was illegal, no attempt to enforce the law was made. The most hopeful centre was Port Mahon, where the congregations had increased and the spiritual life of the members had been deepened.

In 1896 the Rev. J. G. Wheatcroft Brown returned to work in England, and Franklyn Smith was left the sole English Missionary in charge of the work in Spain. At that time there were 139 members at Barcelona and 124 in the Balearic Islands.

During the decade that followed Franklyn Smith could do little more than hold his own. There was a gradual increase in membership at Barcelona, and in 1906 the number of members stood at 211. In the Baleares, after some years of decrease, there was a small increase in 1902, and at the close of the decade the number was about the same as at the commencement. This seems at a first glance a poor result for ten years' work, but only the tenacity and the sanguine activity of Franklyn Smith secured the continued existence of the Church. In 1899 the Rev. C. C. Porri came to his assistance, and in the same year he found another colleague in the Rev. Miguel Longas. This latter had been a Roman Catholic Missionary in Africa, Chili, and Spain. He then became Professor of Philosophy in the French Seminary of Tiers, and was known as one of the most popular and eloquent of the Spanish priests. When he was introduced to the Church at Barcelona he spoke with humility and reverence of St. Paul, who was found preaching the faith of which he once made havoc, and the parallel must have suggested itself to all. Doubtless of them, too, it might have been said that they glorified God in him. When the Centenary year came Miguel Longas still stood with Franklyn Smith, proclaiming to the people of Barcelona the Jesus of whom he had been ' apprehended.'

Soon after the return of the Rev. J. G. Wheatcroft Brown the Committee, recognizing at once the strength of the opposition in the Baleares and their own inability to reinforce the Mission, instructed the new Chairman that the Missionary be

removed from the islands, which might be visited from Barcelona as occasion offered, a second agent being taken on at the latter place to allow this to be done. This was a deplorable withdrawal after all the efforts that had been made in the Baleares, but no other course seemed at that time to be open. The chapel at Cap de Pera had been closed on account of a serious riot organized by the clerical party, and it remained closed in spite of appeals to the local authorities and to Madrid. The few faithful people who remained in what had been the most hopeful centre of work in the islands were driven to meet secretly in the room of a private house with shutters carefully closed, and with sentinels posted to warn them of danger in case it approached. Writing of the situation at that time, the Rev. F. W. Macdonald says[1]:

> It is surely in accordance with the irony of things that the rulers of a land afflicted with the gravest evils, and threatened with overwhelming disasters, should have time and energy to devote to such unworthy business as the closing of village chapels and the dispersion of a few handfuls of evangelical peasants who only seek to worship God in peace. But infatuation of this kind is nothing new in history. It is a path which has often been trodden before, and it is strange that, after all the lessons of the past, rulers should be found to tread it still.

A gentleman who had lived for many years in Spain also writes[2]:

> The country was never in a worse state within the memory of any one living. . . . We are expecting the United States Ambassador, Mr. Woodford, this week. His arrival will probably bring Cuban affairs to a crisis. I am no advocate for war, and should be sorry to see bloodshed, but I really believe that a disaster such as that of 1870 for the French would be the best thing for this country. The Jesuits, and monastic orders in general, have their feet so firmly planted on the neck of this prostrate nation, and the people continue so proud in their blindness, that the only hope for Spain seems to lie in a crushing defeat by a foreign power, or in a revolution that would shake the country to its very centre.[2]

In 1900 a great improvement was made in the facilities for worship by a change to better premises, and Franklyn Smith reports that 'We have now the most attractive Protestant place of worship in Barcelona.' If that be so, then other

[1] *Work and Workers*, 1896, p. 400.
[2] *Work and Workers*, 1897, p. 400.

Protestant Churches must be seriously hampered in their endeavours, for Dr. Ritson, describing a visit to Barcelona, says[1]:

> We cannot close our story of the visit to Barcelona without saying to all Methodists at home that we ought to have better premises than those in Calle Baja de San Pedro. Mr. Smith has made the best of the property, but what does it amount to? The chapel is practically a *patio*, or courtyard, in the middle of high houses crowded with poor families in the slums of Barcelona. This courtyard is covered in with a roof, and can only be reached through inconvenient and dark passages opening direct upon a narrow and forbidding street. Our members in Barcelona are of the poorest, and yet they are giving £40 a year in Class-money. Ought we not to stand by these people and give them a church worthy of their devotion, worthy of Methodism, and worthy of God?

A similar state of things existed in Mahon, the principal town of Minorca, for Mr. Franklyn Smith reports in 1900 that the neighbourhood in which the chapel was situated had become the worst district of a not very moral town, and such was its reputation that respectable people shunned it, to the great detriment of our services and schools. It must be confessed that Methodist activities in the Spanish Mission have been heavily handicapped by such conditions.

The Mission schools have always been a happy feature of our work. There were about a thousand scholars in the day and Sunday schools in Barcelona, and many more might have been admitted if there had been sufficient accommodation. 'When we remember that sixty-eight per cent. of the population in Spain can neither read nor write, and that scant provision is made by the authorities for the education of the people, then these schools take their place as the most hopeful feature of the work in Spain. For even though conversions among young children were not frequent, yet after they left the schools their attitude to Protestant Missions was never the same as that of those who had not shared their advantages.'

A great reinforcement to a hard-pressed Missionary reached Franklyn Smith in 1901, when Miss Wykes[2] joined him to

[1] *Work and Workers*, 1903, p. 56.

[2] Miss Wykes had been sent to Barcelona by the Women's Auxiliary (see p. 62), and when the Rev. W. Perkins paid his official visit to that city he spoke of her work as varied in character and done with untiring energy and devotion. 'Methodism may well be proud of it.'

take up a very necessary work among the women and girls of Barcelona. Her coming at that time was providential, for Franklyn Smith could scarcely have stood the strain under which he was working much longer. Miss Wykes entered upon her work with enthusiasm. The opportunity presented in the schools for girls delighted her, and she was filled with a woman's pity for the working girls and women ; ' No half-closing day, no Sunday, no factory-laws, no one to care for them, only that great and wonderful God above, and very little do they know of Him.' She found her greatest trials in the horribly insanitary dwellings and the intense suffering she was compelled to witness without being able to offer relief. Dr. Ritson, who visited some of the homes to which she brought the gracious ministry of a Christian woman, says, ' We were almost sickened by the stench and the squalor of the neighbourhood. What but the love of Christ could lead any lady to live and toil under such depressing conditions ? '

Early in 1902 there were labour troubles in Barcelona, where anarchy may always occur at a moment's notice. For a short time work in the schools suffered paralysis, but gradually normal conditions were restored. All through such manifold distresses Franklyn Smith never lost heart. His optimism led him, even when disorders in the city were rife, and the opposition of Romanists most pronounced, to speak of the ' hopefulness ' of his work.

The official visit of the Rev. W. Perkins to Spain was a great occasion for the little Church. Mr. Perkins speaks in high appreciation of the work done by Franklyn Smith, and mentions incidentally that to his many labours he added that of producing Christian literature. The books he had translated ' form a small library.'[1] But he also emphasized the criticism passed by Dr. Ritson upon the Mission premises. ' Our success is strictly dependent upon our premises and our resources. Given better buildings and larger help, and it would be easy to double our members and our scholars. The work is splendid ; owned of God, and approved by man.' This aspect of his work did not escape the attention of Franklyn Smith, for, on a visit to England in 1907, he appeared before the Committee and appealed for £10,000 to build central hall premises in

[1] Dr. Ritson in the account of his visit mentions that Franklyn Smith not only spoke Spanish ' like a native,' but was also most proficient in Catalan.

Barcelona. In the restricted state of the Society's funds there was, alas ! only one answer to be given.

The ferment of thought and purpose in Spain at this time reveals an increasing restiveness among those upon whom the yoke of Rome pressed with such galling effect. The religious agitation grew stronger every year. In 1907 this showed itself in legislation intended to free education from the stifling grasp of Papists. It was enacted, for instance, that educational work must not be carried on by religious bodies, and that foreigners must not engage in religious propaganda. This was with a view of curbing the Papal power ; but, as it stood, the clause would make our work impossible, and it gave great anxiety, not only to our workers in Spain, but also to the Committee in England. The clause, however, was never put into operation against our workers, and in 1911 a note is struck in the report from Spain which is quite jubilant : ' Not since the days before the Reformation has Spain shown such independence as under its present Premier. Legislation is being formed for the regulation of religious houses, and toleration is now a reality. We dare for the first time to label our premises.' Not only so, but a considerable improvement in Mission property is recorded. At Clot, one of the suburbs of Barcelona where for many years the Mission school for girls had been most successful, and at Rubi good premises had been secured. The defects already noticed in our buildings in the centre of the city made some change absolutely necessary, but though this was effected the new head quarters of the Mission was found in 1913 to be quite insufficient. The great disappointment of the years immediately preceding the Society's Centenary was the withdrawal of the Missionary sent out to assist Franklyn Smith. The Rev. J. J. Barton was appointed to Barcelona in 1908, but after only two years in the country he was recalled to England.

We have now come in our review to the year in which Methodists all over the world celebrated the Centenary of the Missionary Society, and at this point our account of the work done in Spain must draw to a close. As we look back over its whole course there are two features which stand out in prominence. The first is the tremendous opposition with which the Missionaries had to contend, and the other is the tenacity, the devotion, and the ability with which they not only held their ground against enemies, as powerful as they were

unscrupulous, but even continued to advance. The influence of Methodism was greater than would appear from the mere study of numerical returns. While the sphere of operations was limited, the work of the Methodists was looked upon as one of the most substantial and promising in Spain, and its influence was felt in many directions. If a more generous support were afforded from England that influence might easily lead to results that would be a more than sufficient return for the sacrifice entailed.

. . . . . .

The first indication that the Methodist Church might begin its work of declaring in Portugal the Gospel of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ appears in the Society's annual report for 1868, where we read that ' We have some reason to rejoice over doors which are opening to us in Portugal.' In the following year it is stated that arrangements were being made by which ' our friends in Oporto ' might be visited from Gibraltar. The ' friends ' referred to consisted of a little group of Church members, led by Mr. James Cassels, an Anglican layman, who had joined the Methodists through conviction, and who threw all his energies—which were considerable—into preaching the doctrine of a free forgiveness of sin through faith in Christ, and personal holiness as the consummation of the Christian experience. Mr. Cassels was then a young man with heavy family burdens to bear, but he found time to minister to the little flock which gathered around him in the small chapel built largely through his own personal efforts. A charge had been brought against him of acting against the religion of the State, and sentence had been passed against him of six years' banishment. On appeal this sentence was annulled, and he then approached the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the hope that they would send out a Minister to bring into a more definite Church relationship the people whom he had brought together, and to administer the ordinances of the Church.

Immediately before this he had induced a Presbyterian Minister in Lisbon to come to Oporto in order that the child of a Protestant might receive baptism. This act aroused the Roman clergy, and in one church it was announced that those who attended Protestant services would be refused interment in the public cemeteries, but ' would be buried like dogs in a pit.' In response to this appeal the Missionary Committee

appointed the Rev. R. H. Moreton to begin work in Oporto, and in February, 1871, he came to that city.

Previous to this the Rev. R. B. Lyth, who was at that time the Superintendent at Gibraltar, had visited Oporto in 1870, and wrote in the highest terms of the work and spirit of both Mr. and Mrs. Cassels. They were 'thorough Methodists.' They spared no pains, shrank from no danger, and declined no sacrifice in the prosecution of their work. Lyth appointed Cassels to act in the capacity of a Local Preacher in connexion with the Gibraltar Mission. On Moreton's appointment Cassels declared his readiness to receive him as his Superintendent Minister, but wished to have a part of the city to himself, remaining a voluntary unpaid agent of the Society and exchanging pulpits with Moreton whenever the latter thought it desirable to do so. He had some thought of seeking admission to our ministry, and the Missionary Committee would have furthered an application from him to this effect, in spite of the fact that he was married, but his business relationships prevented him from carrying out this suggestion. It was seen that Mr. Cassels had 'peculiarities' which might make it difficult to carry out the scheme of work which he proposed, but the Secretaries, in recognition of the work he had already accomplished, suggested that the utmost latitude should be allowed him. He settled down in the Villa Nova de Gaia,[1] where the work, started by him, would remain entirely in his hands, while Moreton was responsible for the work in Oporto and the more distant places. It was found, however, that this arrangement led to difficulties. In 1880 it was given up, and Mr. Cassels joined the Lusitanian Church.

In the initial stages of his work Moreton found arrayed against him the whole force of the Roman Church. It was held that as that Church was the State Church, anything detrimental to her interests must be submitted to ecclesiastical examination with a view to judgement. The most determined opposition to the Methodists followed, and even colporteurs, doing a lawful trade in books, were put in prison, while their books were confiscated. The Roman Press stooped to vilifications of Protestants which were discreditable to themselves, and only served to indicate the alarm of Romanists at the appearance of an evangelical faith among the people whom

[1] This was a suburb of Oporto on the right bank of the Douro.

they had so long held in bondage; but before the fall of the monarchy in Portugal an appeal to the highest court in Lisbon had elicited a decision which put a stop to such acts of persecution.

In the first quarterly meeting held after Moreton's arrival it was reported that there were 43 members in the Church, with 16 on trial for membership. Slow progress characterized the work for years, but by 1875 the membership had doubled, and work was being done in different places outside Oporto. Disabilities were also being gradually removed by the Government. Thus Protestant marriages were recognized as legal when performed in the presence of a notary, and the right of burial in the public cemeteries was allowed. Englishmen were at work in the Palhal mines, and whenever possible services were held for them. Some of these gave welcome help when the Minister was unable to be present. Members of the Church also helped by the distribution of tracts, and in this way it was hoped to get a little light into dark places. How necessary this enlightenment was may be judged from the fact, mentioned by Mr. Moreton, that many persons of good position and education really thought that Protestants were atheists. The work in the schools also did much to make known the true character of the Protestant witness. Educational work of every class seemed to be very imperfect in Portugal at that time. Moreton speaks of the official schools as failing to educate the children, while the elementary schools, conducted by nuns, never attempted to do so. But when notice has been taken of these not insignificant auxiliaries it remains that the most powerful factor in the evangelization of Portugal was the character and personal service of the members of the Church. After the curtailment of the influence of the Romish priests the swing of the pendulum made a somewhat blatant atheism the prominent trend of public opinion in Portugal, and such controversies as took place were carried on against that position rather than against any ecclesiastical arrogance or abuse. Here the simple folk who had found in Methodist teaching that which brought peace and joy to their own hearts found in their own spiritual experience what will always remain the most convincing argument: 'One thing I know; whereas I was blind, now I see.' Moreton speaks of 'a steadiness in the Portuguese

character which, when stripped of Romish tinsel and French frivolity, and sanctified by the Spirit's energy, makes excellent Christians and earnest workers.' In 1888 the name of Guilherme Dias, a Portuguese Minister, appears in the report as associated with Moreton in the work of the Mission. He did not, however, remain very long in this service, retiring voluntarily in 1891. The Methodist witness continued to be borne, and the Missionary was cheered by the steadfastness of his congregation and their appreciation of the freedom with which Christ had freed them. More and more clearly they saw the emptiness of the pretensions of the priests, and the unscrupulousness with which they sought to oppose the coming in of light aroused their indignation. But the numerical growth of the Church continued to be slow. Perhaps the most hopeful feature of it was to be found in the schools, the children of which often proved to be staunch supporters of the Protestant faith. A paper published by Mr. Moreton with the name of *Reforma* was of great service, and seemed at this time likely to acquire much influence in the formation of public opinion.

Towards the close of 1898 the Missionary Committee came to the very wise decision to encourage an exchange of visits between Mr. Franklyn Smith at Barcelona and Mr. Moreton at Oporto. These two English Methodists bore the full burden of the whole Peninsula, and it must have meant much to them to meet and discuss the many problems with which they had to deal. A description of Mr. Franklyn Smith's first visit to Oporto is of value in helping us to estimate the progress made up to this time in Oporto. He found that while religious liberty in Portugal was far from perfect it was nevertheless much in advance of that with which he was familiar in Spain. On paper the laws were severe, but public sentiment was liberal, and as the interpretation of the law was in accordance with public opinion, Christian workers were practically free to do as they liked. He ascribes this spirit of tolerance to a greater depth of character to be found among the Portuguese. The Mirante chapel, standing in a public square in the centre of the city, was crowded for the services on the Sunday, and so were the other preaching-places in Oporto. Altogether Mr. Franklyn Smith was impressed with the progress made in Oporto. The following year was notable for two events.

The former of the two was the first ordination of a Methodist Minister in the Peninsula. The Rev. Alfredo Henrique Da Silva was led during his boyhood to attend a Protestant service, and in spite of much opposition and persecution he entered into Christian fellowship with the members of the Wesleyan Church. He was carefully and wisely instructed by Mr. Moreton, and in due course became a Local Preacher, and finally was by a unanimous vote of the Quarterly Meeting called to the ministry. The young Minister had been inured to opposition, he had had his share of suffering for Christ's sake, and it was with both hope and confidence that he was admitted to full ministerial orders. That confidence was not misplaced, for when at length the long service of Mr. Moreton in Oporto came to an end Mr. Da Silva was appointed to succeed him in the superintendency of the work in Oporto.

The second event of the year was the opening of a door which had every appearance of being 'effectual' in Lisbon. Here a gentleman named Julio d'Oliveira, on returning from Brazil, where he had joined the Presbyterian Mission in Rio de Janeiro, opened his house for Protestant services in the growing suburb of Estephania, and sought help from different Protestants in Portugal, as his defective eyesight and the lack of definite training for ministerial work prevented his doing justice to the opportunity which offered in the very considerable congregations that assembled. Both Mr. Da Silva and Mr. Moreton visited Lisbon, and both felt that the pleading of Senhor Oliveira that the Methodists should take up this work thus offered was one to which the Committee should give its assent. The Committee agreed to do this, and the report for the year 1900 shows Lisbon added to Oporto, and the Rev. Arthur H. Wilks appointed to the new station.

Before Wilks took up active work in Lisbon he spent a short time in Oporto learning Portuguese and rendering assistance to the Superintendent, Mr. Moreton. He wrote with great enthusiasm of the work in Oporto, where he found four Sunday schools well attended, four day schools to which hundreds were waiting to be admitted, Sunday services in five different places, and a week-night service in the Almirante Church crowded with working men assembled to hear a simple exposition of a few verses from one of the Gospels. Then he went on to Lisbon, where he began by taking over the pastorate

of the Presbyterian Church, as well as his own, in the absence of the Presbyterian Minister. Here, too, it seemed as though there was an abundant opportunity for an evangelist like Mr. Wilks, but from the first the work was crippled for want of a suitable church. Services were held in the basement of a five-storied building, and the room is thus described by Dr. Ritson when he visited Lisbon in 1902 :

> Our work in Lisbon is an unqualified success, and while the Committee has any money at all for the purpose, it would be a sin not to maintain the Mission. But to advance in the present building is out of the question. The best has been made of it, but it still remains a cellar ten feet high, and on a Sunday night, when lighted with gas and crowded with people (who love garlic), the atmosphere must be intolerably close and stuffy. . . . Mr. Wilks with undaunted courage has not only held his own, but even made friends with some of his foes. Now it is possible for our Church to save Mr. Wilks from many of his anxieties and hindrances by providing him with a suitable chapel for worship. A site could be bought and a building erected for about £2,000, and with such plant doubtless many could be induced to attend who are not keen on the present cellar. The Mission has reached the utmost limit of success under present conditions.

Alas, the funds for the new chapel were not forthcoming, and the strain was more than Mr. Wilks could sustain. In 1903 his health completely broke down, and under medical advice he was obliged to withdraw from foreign work. He was followed by the Rev. Thomas A. Simpson, who served with equal courage, determination, and success, but the Committee in England found that they were confronted with a serious crisis. They must either acquire suitable premises and maintain a suitable staff or they would be obliged to withdraw altogether from the work in Lisbon. Once again the Church failed the Committee, and the report for the year 1906 announced that the decision had been made to hand over the work to some other evangelical Mission and to concentrate upon Oporto. So ended a most attractive work in the capital of Portugal. The Methodist Mission had attracted attention ; crowds were drawn to listen to the Gospel of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ, and the reasonableness of its message had been thrown into strongest contrast by the ignorance and selfishness of its opponents. But the Methodist Church in England has never realized that the call to deliver men from sin and superstition is as clamant in Europe as it is in Asia,

and for want of adequate support the good work was abandoned, and the Church turned away from the opened door. Mr. Simpson returned to England, and Mr. Moreton was left the sole witness whom England could spare for the work in Portugal at a time when the hold of the Roman priests upon the people was weakening every day.

It is not possible, for want of space, to continue the description of the course of events in Oporto. In that city the influence of the Methodist Church continued to increase, though the numerical growth of the Church was very gradual. The fidelity of Mr. Moreton is beyond all praise, and his courage and tenacity were as conspicuous as his evangelical tone and spirit. For forty-four years he had watched over the little Church committed to his care. He had defended its members from oppression, and was a tower of strength to all who were weak. In a land where the corruption of the Church had been reflected in a general lowering of moral standards he strenuously upheld the purity of the evangelical Church, and removed from its roll the names of those who failed to reflect it. The shadow of a great bereavement fell upon the Church when, towards the close of 1914, Mr. Moreton announced his impending retirement, and very tender and sincere were the tributes borne to his fatherly wisdom and love. At the time of his withdrawal from the work there were 172 persons in full communion within the Church, with 28 others on probation, while a further number of 162 baptized adherents made up the Methodist Church in Portugal. As we have already indicated, he was followed in the superintendency by the Rev. A. H. da Silva, who, with another Portuguese Minister, the Rev. J. A. Fernandes, still maintains the Methodist witness in a land where men and women are hungry for the truth.

# III

## FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND

The Claims of France—Dr. Coke visits Paris—Charles Cook—Methodism in Paris—In the South of France—A ' French ' Methodism—Lausanne—A Rebuff—The French Conference—Its first President—Financial Arrangements—Difficulties—Other Protestant Communions in France.

THE claims of France upon the Methodist Church are twofold. It is often forgotten that in the history of Protestantism the part played by France was far from being negligible. We need only mention the names of the Waldenses and the Huguenots to bring back to reverent recollection the witness borne, at the cost of persecution, exile, and death, to true religion as men found it in Christ Jesus, and apart from the pretensions of the Papacy. It is sometimes forgotten, too, that from a merely material point of view our country is greatly indebted to French Protestants. These came to England in thousands during the troubled years of the seventeenth century, bringing with them arts and crafts which greatly enriched the industries of this country.[1] That Methodists should range themselves by the side of those who still maintain their witness to evangelical religion in France is but the recognition of a debt of honour. The second claim is that which is presented by every country in which the truth is ' held down in unrighteousness.' There is a moral and religious darkness in France as great as that which is to be found in India, and that darkness is the more intensified in that it is found in a nation which in art and literature, in science and philosophy, stands as high as any civilized nation in the world. If, then, the Methodist finds a ' call ' in the fact of darkness, the call of Europe is not to be ignored, or considered less urgent than that of Asia. In France, if anywhere, the need of the Methodist appeal to evangelical experience is unquestionable, and its fresh and

[1] The French Ambassador in London sent word to Paris that 960,000 louis d'or had been brought to the mint for conversion into English coins.' (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, art., ' Huguenots.')

joyous enthusiasm is calculated to bring a quickening influence to other Protestant Churches, fighting a hard battle with superstition, entrenched in an ecclesiastical tyranny and reinforced by the pride of life and the love of 'the world.' It must be confessed that with such an obligation resting upon us the proper feeling should be, not one of impatience with Missionary work in France, but rather one of shame that we have done so little to meet her just claims.

But the appeal of France was not lost upon that greatest of all Methodist Missionaries, Thomas Coke. In 1791 he felt the pulse of new life in France even in the social cataclysm of the Revolution. Like many others, he hoped that the great principle of social liberty would bring to France what it had brought to England in other ways. He considered that the time was fully come for the introduction of evangelical teaching among the French, and he was confirmed in this conviction by the fact that an appeal had been made to the Countess of Huntingdon by persons in Paris that she would send one of the Ministers of her communion to that city. The death of the Countess prevented any response to that appeal, and Coke set out for Paris, calling at the Channel Islands *en route*,[1] that he might enlist the services of Methodist Preachers who had some knowledge of work among French people. He found a hopeful beginning in Normandy, and on his return journey he left there Jean de Quetteville and William Mahy, ordaining the latter before he sailed for England. The visit to Paris, however, was entirely disappointing, though he went so far as to purchase a disused church for £120. Shortly after he was glad to sell it again, and for some years no attempt was made to begin work in Paris. The matter of evangelical work in France was not lost sight of in spite of this unhappy result, and in 1814 the Missionary Committee was 'convinced that France is one of the most important fields in the world for missionary exertions, and is using every means in its power to forward this good work. M. Kerpezdron,[2] now in France, has formed several societies on our own plan, and

[1] In 1783 Wesley had sent two of his best helpers to the Channel Islands, and Dr. Lelièvre considered that he had France in view when he did so. (The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1906, art. by Dr. Lelièvre.) In 1784 a Local Preacher of the name of Mahy was sent from Guernsey to begin work in Normandy, and when Coke visited Caen on his way to Paris he found that Mahy had a large number of persons under instruction.

[2] Armand de Kerpezdron was a Frenchman of noble parentage, who had been converted in Jersey.

assures us that the work of God is likely to prosper among his countrymen.' Later on we find Kerpezdron at Brussels, where he was specially directed to seek to influence French residents in that city. Attempts had been made, notably by the Rev. W. Toase, to minister to French prisoners of war in England in 1811. It was reckoned that there were sixty thousand of these in England at that time. In 1817 Toase was associated with De Quetteville in work in Normandy.

The following year brought the appointment to the French Mission of the Rev. Charles Cook after he had spent two years in the work in England, and it is safe to say that no Missionary has left a deeper mark upon the work he has had in hand than Dr. Cook has left in France. For forty years, only broken when, in 1824, he was sent to Palestine on a visit of exploration with a view to opening up work in that country,[1] he continued to serve in a land to which he brought that wisdom which is 'first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy.' The story of his work is the history of Methodism in France, and in a letter to the Rev. Matthew Gallienne the great historian of the Reformation, Merle D'Aubigne, said, 'The work which John Wesley did in Great Britain Charles Cook has done, though on a smaller scale, on the Continent.' From the fisherfolk of the Normandy coast to the quiet valleys of the south of France there was but one feeling aroused by his visits. 'He was received as a messenger from God.' It has been said that the Societies he founded in the south of France came nearest to the early Methodists in simplicity, piety, and zeal. He had around him men of great capacity and devotion, such as Hocart, Gallienne, Guiton, De Jersey, Jean Lelièvre, and Jean Rostan, and to all these he was a leader who was absolutely one with those who followed. The year after he began his work he was commissioned to make a tour in the south of France with a view to beginning work in that district, and in consequence we find him settled in Caveirac, near Nîmes, in 1821. With his coming the spark, which was all that was left in a Protestantism that had become cold and formal, broke once more into a flame, and new life began to quicken the Huguenot Church.

Meantime, in 1819, the Rev. J. Hawtrey had been appointed

[1] See p. 422 of this vol.

to Paris, and he writes a pathetic letter describing the difficulties he met even in the matter of securing a lodging for himself and his wife. He succeeded eventually in gathering together a small congregation of English-speaking folk, but he did not remain in Paris more than a few months. After a lapse of ten years Charles Cook was appointed to this centre, and preaching in English was resumed. French services were begun by the Rev. P. Tourgis in 1826. The first services were held in the Rue Quinquempoix—'one of the dirtiest streets in Paris.' A change was soon made, and rooms were obtained in the Rue Hauteville, then the Church moved to other places in succession. It was difficult to secure a suitable place for Methodist services. Last of all an unused theatre in the Rue Royale was taken and adapted for religious purposes, and in this building services were held both in French and English for twenty years. But though the building in the Rue Royale was a great improvement upon others that had been tried it was found to be too small, and it was so hidden away that strangers coming to Paris, and wishing to worship with our people, had difficulty in finding it. It was then decided to secure a freehold site in a more central position, and to erect upon it a building in which a chapel, a school-room, a book dépôt, and a Minister's house might be placed. The result was the erection of the church in the Rue Roquepine, which remains to this day. Here many Ministers have found a happy sphere for service, and English residents in Paris have found a spiritual home. Though the work has been seriously dislocated by the war of 1914 to 1918, the condition of this Church was never better than it is to-day. The church was opened for worship on October 17, 1862, when the Rev. W. Morley Punshon preached the first sermon in the morning, while in the afternoon a French service was conducted by the Rev. J. Hocart, at that time President of the French Conference.

Cook did not remain long in Paris. In 1832 he returned to the south of France, being succeeded by Robert Newstead and Henri de Jersey. In the same year work was begun in Calais and Lille. Ministers stationed in the former conducted services, as opportunity allowed, in Boulogne, and those in the latter visited Brussels for the same purpose. At one time Waterloo was one of the places whose names appeared on the Lille Circuit Plan. In 1834 Calais, Lille, and Boulogne formed

one Circuit, owing to the shortage in ministerial supply, but in 1836 they were separately administered. In 1837 the Rev. William Toase took charge of the work in Paris, on the retirement of Newstead, and in 1844 he was appointed Chairman of the District in France, an office which he filled until his retirement in 1849, when he was succeeded by Charles Cook.

When Cook returned to the south of France in 1833 he was greatly attracted by the prospect of work among the Hautes Alpes in Piedmont. The villagers in the valleys of the Vaudois had been visited by De Jersey in 1832 and by Louis Rostan in 1834. On the latter occasion a gracious revival was given to the Church, as a result of which thirteen Methodist Societies were formed, and the local Synod begged that 'immediate attention be given to this opening, the most promising that we have ever yet had.' The Committee responded by sending Messrs. Lucas and Gallienne to assist in carrying on this hopeful work among the remnants of the ancient Church of the Waldensians. So rapidly did the work develop that this section of the southern District was in 1839 made into a separate Circuit under the charge of Cook, with Hocart, Gallienne, Rostan, Martin, and Handcock to co-operate. These were all notable Missionaries, and their appointment indicates the importance which the French Synod attached to this field. A visitor to the valleys—Mr. Thomas Allan, of London—was so impressed by the work he found there that on his return to London he made an urgent appeal to the Committee to send out no less than ten Missionaries, seconding his appeal by a most generous subscription to the funds of the Society.

The Revolution of July, 1830, against the reactionary policy of Charles X, seemed to many to be the presage of greater freedom in France, and that this opinion was also held in England appears in the report of the Committee for 1831:

> Never was the attention of mankind directed to the continent of Europe with more powerful interest than at present; and although some of the principles now at work in different quarters may appear unfavourable to the spread of Christianity, yet the greater freedom for the publication of truth, consequent upon the political events which have occurred in France, excites much hope. The pious in France of all parties have endeavoured to take advantage of the new order of things for the purpose of promoting the influence of true religion, and the Committee state with thankfulness that their Missions in this

quarter of the world have never borne an aspect so decidedly favourable and promising.

This was followed by a more specific statement in 1834:

> By an intense anxiety many friends of evangelical truth, of various denominations, have been induced to devote a portion of their attention to the revival and promotion of spiritual religion among the Protestants and other inhabitants of France. In such labours this Society has been partially engaged, but never so extensively, or so hopefully, as at the present period, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from civil distractions and political agitations. The recent intimation of the French Government to give a new impulse to general education, and to introduce the New Testament into all the elementary Schools of that kingdom, embracing, it has been stated, two millions of children, is a circumstance as cheering as it is extraordinary, and calls at once for pious gratitude, and for zealous efforts to improve it to the best account. The Committee have resolved to lend such aid as was within their limited means for this good purpose. Nine of their Missionaries are incessantly labouring to spread the truth as it is in Jesus in that land of infidelity and superstition. Five are stationed in Paris, Calais, and Lille in the north; one in the western department of Calvados, l'Orne, and Manche; and three in the south of France. Their ministry, it is presumed, is regularly attended by one thousand persons.

Dr. Cook, it is evident, concurred in the opinion that the time had come for more aggressive work to be attempted in Paris, and he applied for permission to build a new chapel in the Boulevards and to publish a *Methodist Magazine* in French. Both projects were vetoed by the Committee, on the twofold ground that the finances of the Society were not in a condition to justify the expense and that the lack of visible results in Paris prevented their incurring any further outlay in that city.

In 1834 two of the French Ministers withdrew from the ministry. Their explanation of this action was to the effect that Methodism 'contains in its nature some fundamental parts which are entirely irreconcilable to the wants of France, and to the evangelical liberty of Christian preachers' and that 'the grand mistake of the French Wesleyan Mission is that they desire to make up a man for his coat, instead of making up a coat for the man.' Apparently our discipline did not commend itself to these brethren. At the same time some part of their feeling was not without a measure of sympathy in others, as is shown in a letter from the Rev. John Beecham

written in 1835, in which he says, 'We perceive considerable force in what Mr. Cook says respecting the importance of giving to Methodism in France an independent and national air, instead of its appearing to depend upon a foreign Society.' This feeling was to develop into a definite policy, as we shall see presently.

The Committee apparently was of the opinion that a far more favourable opportunity for the development of Methodism was to be found in the south than in the north of France. Thus, while no reinforcements were forthcoming for Paris or Normandy, two more Missionaries were promised for the south, from which reports of the most encouraging kind continued to be sent. Thus it was reported that in one village,

> the only village in France, perhaps, in which Popery has never been able to obtain hospitality, or to seat herself on the hearth of any poor man, there are only from thirty to thirty-seven houses, and we have sixty members in Society.

In the first year of the next decade the French Mission returned a net increase of 215 members, the total number in the Church being 946, with more than 1,000 children attending the Wesleyan Schools. About this time, too, there seemed to be every probability of a notable advance. In 1840 M. Boucher visited Lausanne for the sake of his health. Here he fell in with an Independent Minister, and the result of their intercourse was an invitation to Charles Cook to join them. The visit was paid, and the result was shortly afterwards seen in the formation of a Methodist Society in that city. For some time the cause prospered greatly, and it was hoped that Switzerland would be 'a stepping-stone to Italy.' In 1841 Cook and Rostan took up their residence in Lausanne. This extension aroused the liveliest feeling in England, inasmuch as it brought the Methodist Church into the birthplace of John Fletcher, and the Committee records that 'Thus after the lapse of nearly a century Wesleyan Methodism is beginning to pay the debt it owes to that man of God and eminent Minister of the Gospel, the Rev. John Fletcher.' But in 1846 this hopeful prospect was suddenly clouded over. In the year before the conflict between the Clerical party and the Radical had brought about something like a revolution in Switzerland. The former had sought to give the Jesuits both place and power in the

State, and the popular feeling, which was at once aroused in consequence, did not discriminate between the religion of the Jesuits and that of other Christian Churches from outside. All foreign Societies were included in one sweeping interdict. The only Church to be recognized or tolerated was ' The Official Church.' Both Cook and his assistant, M. Ogier, were ordered to leave Lausanne. No charge was brought against the former, but in the case of the latter it was alleged that, contrary to the law of the State, he had proselytized children under age, the reference being to cases of conversion which had taken place in the Sunday school. But both men had to leave the country, and Cook returned to Nîmes. It was hoped that if they sent another Missionary to Lausanne the feeling would die down, and Matthew Gallienne was sent to take the place of Cook, but the meetings of the Society had to be conducted in secret, the congregations assembling in different houses Sunday by Sunday, lest the place of their meeting should become known to the authorities. This action, taken against all religious bodies other than the Established Church, was generally supposed to be due to the agitation of members of the Socialist Clubs (confessedly followers of Robespierre), many of whom were members of the Council of State, for, though this feeling was strong and relentless in Lausanne, there was no similar opposition at Aigle, or in the villages of the Canton de Vaud. In these places work was quietly continued, and Gallienne was able to visit the Waldenses of Piedmont, by whom he was most cordially welcomed. It was hoped that a Circuit might be formed among these people, who were still feeling the quickening influence of a revival brought about in the course of a visit from the saintly Felix Neff.[1]

In 1850 the position was improved. Toleration was granted by the authorities, though the prohibitory laws remained unrevoked. But the set-back in this most promising work was unfortunate. When services in Lausanne again became possible there was only one Missionary available for both Lausanne and Aigle, and the two towns were so far apart that the work in both was hampered by its becoming the charge of a single man. At the close of the decade 52 members were

[1] One of our Ministers, the Rev. J. Rostan, was converted to God under the ministry of Felix Neff. He continued in our ministry from 1834 to 1859.

returned from Switzerland, a considerable decrease on the number returned in 1844. Decrease, however, was general in all the stations of the French District in that year, the total membership being 865, or nearly a hundred less than in 1840.

In 1851 the work in Caen, which had been occupied only so late as 1844, though Methodist Preachers had been at work in its environs half a century before, was given up in favour of Le Bocage, where Philip Guiton from the Channel Islands was in charge of the Mission. Another name appears on the *Minutes of Conference* for that year to which only this scanty reference may be made. Emile F. Cook was that year appointed to the Cevennes. He quickly gained the respect and affection of his brethren in the ministry, and was elected by them to be the President of the Conference in France during the twelve months 1873–74.

It will be remembered that as early as 1835 John Beecham, one of the Missionary Secretaries at that time, had written in favour of ' giving to Methodism in France an independent and national air.' In 1852, during his second term of office, he returned to this matter, reinforced by the support of the Rev. William Arthur, who had himself served in Paris and Boulogne for a short time. In the spring of that year Dr. Beecham visited Paris, and in correspondence with Dr. Cook he proposed that the French Mission should become a distinct Connexion or Church, its members taking upon themselves the management of their own local affairs. It was suggested that the burden of financing the Church should become a local charge, the Committee making its annual grant as a contribution in aid of local funds. In return for this the new Conference would be asked to give suitable guarantees for the maintenance of Methodism in its great and leading characteristics, and for the satisfactory appropriation of the Committee's grant. It was hoped in this way to put the French work on a footing similar to that which Irish or Canadian Methodism occupied in relation to the British Conference, and at the same time to secure for it a more national character and greater freedom of action in all local matters. In the Conference held that same year in Sheffield this proposal was brought forward, and it was at once accepted. The speed with which the project was thus carried forward was largely due to the desire strongly felt in England that the change should be made while Dr. Cook

was still able to guide the Church through the perilous waters of a newly acquired independence. In his report to the British Conference Dr. Beecham bore witness to the loyalty and self-devotion shown by the Missionaries in France. They knew that the change would make them poorer, but they faced that contingency, and others, with a fine spirit, looking only to the advantages which their work would gain thereby. This was the first of the affiliated Conferences carried through by Dr. Beecham. There followed in quick succession the similar Conferences in Australia and in Canada, while thirty years later yet another was constituted in South Africa. In all probability it was hoped that the French work would soon be self-supporting, though this point is not made prominent in the negotiations that preceded the constituting of the Conference. If that be so, then such hopes were not fulfilled. Many of the 'adherents' of the Methodist Church in France were in reality members of the older Protestant communions, and neither they nor direct converts to Methodism had acquired the characteristic method of systematic contribution to the support of the ministry which has been so strongly developed in England. For many years to come the work in France continued to be financed from England.

The scheme of the new arrangement was as follows:

1. The Mission in France shall henceforth constitute a distinct Connexion or Church, but is required still to maintain the great doctrinal and disciplinary principles of the parent Connexion.

2. The new Conference shall consist of the Missionaries in France who have been admitted by the English Conference to the full work and office of the Christian ministry, and of such other Ministers as may hereafter be received by the French Conference into its own body.

3. The French President is to be appointed by the British Conference. This President is to spend most of his time in visiting the Circuits and exercising a general oversight.

4. The English Conference reserves the right to abrogate any legislation of the French Conference that in its judgement infringes any of our doctrinal or disciplinary principles—a security for the conservation of essential Methodism in France.

5. The rights of Ministers on French soil in English Methodist Funds are to be carefully secured, but the French Ministers are expected to create Connexional Funds of their own, on which all Ministers newly received must depend.

6. English Churches in Paris, Calais, and Boulogne are to remain in connexion with the English Conference.

The Presidency of Dr. Cook, an appointment made by the British Conference at the request of the Ministers in France, more than justified the confidence that was felt on both sides of the Channel. That honourable position he continued to hold until he was called to 'those great offices that suit the full-grown energies of heaven.' Of him it was said that 'the honour thus conferred upon him he bore with the meekness of a follower of Christ, and with the grace of one whose mind had been well disciplined in spiritual and intellectual pursuits. If his office gave him any additional importance in the estimation of his wide circle of friends, whether Pastors or people, the influence thus acquired was used for one sole purpose—that of advancing the interests of Christ's kingdom. In the gift of such a Minister to His Church we may see and acknowledge the favour and blessing of God.' He passed to his reward on February 21, 1858.

The establishing of an affiliated Conference in France brings to a close the present account of our Society's work in that country. The story of its further development falls to some historian of the future belonging to that Conference. Its relations with the Missionary Committee, however, were not entirely closed, and some outline of these may be given here. The arrangement certainly fulfilled the main object of its authors in giving to the French Mission the more national character which was desired, and which had become all the more necessary because of the jealousy which the new Government in France felt towards anything that seemed to present 'a foreign impress.' It also gave to the Methodist Church in France a considerable measure of autonomy, safeguarded as that was by its accepted obligation to maintain the doctrinal tenets and administrative principles peculiar to Methodism. The weak point in the arrangement was that it secured autonomy without real independence, and thus its complete efficiency was hampered. The members of the Church were too poor to meet out of their slender funds all the expenses of the Church, and it still remained dependent upon the Missionary Committee. The attitude of its Ministers was beyond all praise. They accepted at once a reduction of twenty per cent. in their allowances, and further reductions, which appeared necessary as time went on, were cheerfully accepted, that the general interests of the work might not suffer. But, though

grants in aid were continued in favour of aggressive work such as the Paris Mission, afterwards carried on by William Gibson, and other Mission work in Nancy, Normandy, and Puy de Dôme, when the Committee began to press for an annual diminution of grants to settled Circuits a difficulty in meeting these claims was felt, and this called for constant consideration and repeated attempts at readjustment in the years that followed. Thus in the *Minutes* of 1875 we find elaborate resolutions drawn up by a sub-committee for settling the affairs of the French Conference and its relations to the Missionary Committee. The chief of these were :

> The segregation of Switzerland as a separate District, and the readjustment of other Districts.
>
> The abolition of the present *Caisse Centrale*, which subsidizes the weak Circuits out of the English Fund, and the substitution of a Home Mission and Contingent Fund on the English model, which shall collect subscriptions in France, and the officers of which shall consider carefully applications for help, these being first scrutinized by District Synods and forwarded from them.
>
> The appointment of an English administrator of this Fund, appointed by the Missionary Committee, who shall be the Home Missionary Secretary for France, and Superintendent of all English work in the country—the latter to form a distinct ' District ' under his Chairmanship.
>
> The French Conference to be attended yearly by an English Secretary of the Missionary Society, or some other suitable representative of the English Conference and the Missionary Committee.

This scheme was further modified and then accepted in 1877. The agent of the British Conference was no longer to be termed ' Financial,' and the ' District ' over which he presides was to be a Mission District of the parent Church. Later in that same year the British agent was made the official representative of the British Conference in the meetings of the French Conference.

Even with all these modifications a permanent arrangement was not secured. In 1893 the Committee had before it a long memorandum from a sub-committee of the French Conference setting forth the impossibility of carrying on the work, much less extending Missions among Romanists, on the reduced scale of grants from England that had been proposed, on the ground that the French Methodist Circuits were small, poor, and widely scattered. The Committee, however, was unable

to do more than to reaffirm its previous decisions, under which all ordinary grants from England were to cease in fifteen years from that date (a term subsequently extended to twenty years). It suggested that the Committee for conducting evangelistic work in France should be enlarged so as to secure a predominance of French members.

That the possibility of such difficulties arising was before the mind of Dr. Beecham is shown by his evident anxiety to secure this change of administration while the wisdom and tact of Dr. Cook were still available. In a letter to Dr. Cook he says :

> The pressure of our financial difficulties in this country makes me feel how important it will be for you, at the commencement of your separate course, to lay your plans so prudently and carefully as to avoid similar embarrassment. We now feel it imperatively necessary to make our people understand that the scriptural rule is that they who enjoy the Gospel should support their own ministry, besides helping to send it to the destitute and needy. It is my hope that you will enforce this upon the people of your charge. Do take care that you do not call out too many men into the work, under the idea that a single man will not cost much. Remember that these will, in due time, become married men with families, and then will come the financial tug, if you have not provided beforehand that the means to support them as married men shall be forthcoming. I earnestly hope and trust that, while you zealously lay yourself out to push forward the good work of God, all your efforts will be guided by prudence and wisdom, so that you may advance no faster than you can do so with safety and success. I trust that you will bear with me in the suggestion that I offer. I feel a deep interest in your cause ; and I now feel also that my own reputation, and the success of our plans in respect of our older Missions—which is of greater importance than what is merely personal to myself—depend in a good degree on the success of the experiment which you have undertaken to work out in France. God grant that we may be able to point to you as evidence in favour of our arrangements for throwing all our Missions, as they are prepared for the change, upon their own resources.

The paternal anxiety and the wisdom of such counsels are patent, and if the successful attainment of complete independence has not been all that this far-seeing administrator desired, it may be pleaded that circumstances were too strongly fixed for the plan to work out exactly as it was formulated at the first.

One of the most deplorable results of this financial stringency is to be found in the starved condition of the training institution

which the French Conference established in Lausanne in 1860. The following description of the institution was given by William Gibson when he visited Lausanne in 1874 :

> I stayed at the Minister's house in the John Fletcher Memorial Chapel. This is an imposing building, and contains a chapel which will seat four hundred persons, a large schoolroom with smaller class-rooms, a Minister's house with large airy rooms, and rooms for the students of the Methodist Theological Institution. . . . I regretted to find the students' rooms empty. The whole establishment gave me the impression of a fine plant insufficiently worked for want of funds. Pastor Jaulmes told me that he received the ordinary stipend of a French Methodist Minister, about £100 a year, and £38 for one student, and on that was expected to work the French Methodist Theological Institution, which is intended to supply Ministers for the whole of our French work. Young men are offering themselves for the work of the ministry, but we cannot receive them at our institution because we have no money to support them. Is this as it ought to be ?

There can be only one reply to Gibson's question.

The first Conference was held in Nîmes on September 5, 1852, under the presidency of Dr. Cook, and the letter which he wrote to Dr. Beecham at its close reveals at once the Christian character of the writer and the difficulties confronting the newly constituted Conference. The whole field was divided into two Districts, north and south, Switzerland being included in the northern division since access to that part of the field had been made easy through the opening of the railway between Paris and that country. M. De Jersey was elected Chairman of the northern District, and M. Rostan filled the corresponding position in the southern. It was decided that the annual Conference should be held in each of these Districts in alternate years, so that every Minister might be able to attend the Conference at least once in every two years. The stationing of the Ministers presented some difficulty, but it was arranged that this matter should be entrusted to a 'Stationing Committee' consisting of two representatives from each District, with the President and the Secretary of the Conference. The decisions of this Committee were not open to debate in Conference, a precaution adopted in order to avoid giving to the District in which the Conference might be held any preponderance in the appointing of the Ministers to their Circuits. Finance, as was natural, was the cause of serious misgiving. In spite of the self-denial of the Ministers it was

seen from the first that this burden was likely to be excessive for a Church the members of which were so poor. The Auxiliary Fund, which would have to meet the expenses of Ministers in retirement, was considered to need special consideration, and the Committee was asked to double its grant in aid of this Fund, or to accept the support of Ministers whose service had been rendered while the Mission was connected with the Missionary Committee, and who were now on the eve of retirement.

The value of Methodist work in France is not to be measured by statistical tables. That so many have found in the Methodist Communion a spiritual home, where they have breathed the air of freedom and joy in a direct and immediate fellowship with the Lord and Giver of life, and where faith in Christ was the one but sufficient means of access to God, is a matter for which we may reverently and humbly give thanks to the great Head of the Church. We may also rejoice that so many able and devout Ministers of the Gospel have found in this service the fulfilment of life. Real conversions from infidelity and from the perversions of faith were seals to their ministry over which they might well rejoice, but most of all the deep and fervent piety, the simplicity and strength of faith in the members of their several Churches, gave them the joy of knowing that ' their labour was not in vain in the Lord.' For this they were prepared to endure poverty, suffering, and scorn. They knew the secret of the joy of sacrifice. By every test that may be applied, judged by every highest standard explicit or implicit in the Scriptures, it is a true Christian Church which we meet in the records of Methodism in France. And, whatever its dimensions or the rate of its growth may be, to have brought that Church into being more than justifies the original enterprise of Dr. Cook and the loyal Ministers in the Channel Islands who joined him. Nor must it be forgotten that from this Church in France there have gone forth Missionaries to other parts of the ' World-Parish.' The fruit of this ministry to the French is to be found in Dahomey, in Hayti and in Algeria, as well as in France, and the full fruitage of that far-flung seed is yet to be gathered.

But by universal acknowledgement the greatest effect of the Methodist Church in France is to be found in the new impetus—so marked that we may use the words ' new life '—which it

brought to Protestant communions which had all but lost the light and power of their earlier history. To the Huguenots and to the Waldenses—Churches of impressive history, rich in scholarship as in devotion—to these Churches Methodism brought a genuine revival.

> A century ago the Huguenot Church was in a large measure rationalistic. Less than half a century ago it was still timid and unaggressive. To-day it is to the forefront in politics, in higher education, in commerce, and in social reform and directly religious work. Its historians and others gratefully acknowledge its debt to the little Methodist Mission Church, which led the way in starting Y.M.C.A., Temperance, and Christian Endeavour Societies, and still contributes materially to the movement in favour of deepening the spiritual life of the Churches.[1]

Other evidence may be found in a speech delivered by the late Sir Isaac Holden on the occasion of the Wesleyan Missionary Anniversary of 1868 :

> I was told by one of the most distinguished clergymen of the Reformed Church of France that, but for the Methodist influence upon that Church, it would have lost its moorings, and would have become altogether ineffectual for good in France—that it could not have resisted the more powerful and better organized system of Romanism, against which it had to contend, but for the reviving influence which Methodism gave to it. He told me that there were to his knowledge some three hundred Ministers who held the Gospel faith, as we hold it, in that Church ; and that they owed their Christian experience to the influence of our late Dr. Charles Cook and his successors in the French ministry.

These are testimonies of men who have lived in France and who know that whereof they affirm. They are conclusive for those who may be tempted to regard the work of the Methodist Church in France with hesitation, if not with indifference.

Of the great and noble men who gave their lives to this service we have said little, though so much might well have been said. No Mission-field has witnessed a greater fidelity ; no service has elicited in its Ministers clearer tokens of the spirit of Jesus Christ. In the list of ever memorable names there are two which stand out pre-eminent. We glorify the grace of God in all, and we reverently make mention of His servants Charles Cook and William Gibson.

[1] Rev. G. Whelpton in *A New History of Methodism*, Vol. II, p. 85.

## IV

## GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Gottlieb Müller—John Lyth—J. C. Barratt—Bavaria—Bohemia—Austria—The Passing of a great Missionary—The Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany—Austria—The Baroness Von Langenau—Inhibited.

In turning to a review of the Methodist Church in Germany there is a very natural question which meets us on the threshold of our inquiry : ' Why have you planted Methodism in Germany, a land so staunchly Protestant, so rich in theological literature, and that has a core of sound evangelical truth, notwithstanding all its errors?' That was the question put to Dr. Lyth on his return to this country after five years of service in Germany. In reply Dr. Lyth spoke of the need of combating both rationalism and ultramontanism, and he found the chief positions to be attacked in Germany. But Dr. Lyth had another answer, and it was this :

> We did not plant it at all. God planted it . . . a stray seed from a Methodist garden in London was wafted by an invisible power over the Straits of Dover, and dropped down just within the shadow of the old church where the father of the learned and pious Bengel used to preach, and where Bengel himself first received the truth as it is in Jesus. That seed found a congenial soil, and sprang up, and began to bear fruit—rich fruit.

It is the germination of that seed which we must first consider.

Mr. C. Gottlieb Müller, a German by birth, was resident in London during the twenties, and, coming under the influence of Methodists in Great Queen Street Circuit, became soundly converted to God. He shortly after became an exhorter and Class-leader, and during a visit to his father's home in Winnenden he declared to his relatives and friends the deep spiritual experience which had come to him. As a result a number of persons entered into a like happy experience, and a congregation of these met together for worship and for mutual edification

in the things of the Spirit. In 1830 a letter was received at the Mission House from Winnenden, and as this letter is of historic interest it may be given in full :

The Spirit of God our Saviour has, this summer, sent to us our dear brother, G. Müller, and through him awakened many souls from their lukewarm Christianity, so that they have been convinced of their sin and misery, and have received from God grace and forgiveness of their sins. There is also a considerable number, chiefly females, who are in earnest to save their souls ; and they continually increase who are hungering after grace and forgiveness, and who are desirous of associating with us. But there is no leader to guide them. It is true there are some persons who are willing to take this matter upon themselves, but in a way of their own, and not after the manner of the Methodists. On this account my mind is greatly pained and perplexed, and I fear lest much should be neglected, for I have a Class of 25 to 30 souls who cause me much joy in that, under a daily sense of their unworthiness, they suffer themselves to be led by the Spirit of God, and bear much scoff and contempt with joy for the sake of Christ, who has adopted them as His own. Beyond my class I cannot do much, as I have to earn my daily bread for my family. Many are desirous of coming to me, but I cannot take more, my place being too small. The other Class-leader cares little about me because I am too young, hence I am burdened with anxiety, and therefore beg of you, dear Superintendent of the Missions, that you would send us our dear brother, Gottlieb Müller, in order that nothing may be neglected respecting instruction and discipline, also that order may be introduced as it is with you in England, and that the true Church of Christ may be established among us to the honour of Almighty God. . . . Mr. Müller would be able to labour much more in the kingdom of God with us than in England, while in England there is no lack of leaders or shepherds. Even our clergy and church superintendents were greatly pleased because they saw plainly that the Methodist Society is no sect of separatists, but a genuine Christian community according to God's word and commandment, as is required in the Holy Bible, for there have been separatists in our country who never went to the Established Church, and never took the Lord's Supper. These sects always stood at variance with our clergy ; they have now, however, all wandered into Russia. We hope, therefore, you will receive our petition in love, and we will call upon God that if it be the will of the Almighty, you may send us our dear brother as a Missionary. The will of the Lord be done. Amen. The number of those who desire to join the Methodist Society here and in our villages is already 80 souls. . . .

The least of your brethren in the Lord,

IMANUEL STRUBEL, Butcher in Winnenden.

The issue of this striking letter, so full of humility and piety, so suggestive of certain phases of the religious condition of

Germany at that time, was that in 1831 Gottlieb Müller went to Winnenden, not as a Minister but as 'An agent of the Society.' The Report of 1834 speaks of him as being 'assisted by twenty-three pious persons, who have been raised up by the blessing of God, and endued with gifts for usefulness as subordinate agents and helpers, and who disinterestedly employ their leisure from worldly toils in acting as assistant leaders under his direction.' He had formed the Methodist Circuit Plan, and on this there were names of twenty-six villages. The number of members 'admitted after due examination and trial' was 326.

Müller was in labours more abundant. He would rise at three or four in the morning, and during the day would walk thirty or forty miles, preaching wherever he went. The hearts of many turned to him, and by him they were led into a new experience of religion. In 1836 the number of members had increased to 448, and he now had 46 voluntary helpers. Presently the jealousy of the clergy was aroused, and the civic authorities had their attention drawn to his services; the police entered his house and seized his books and papers; his meetings were prohibited, and he himself was for a time imprisoned and examined. When nothing was found to incriminate him he was set at liberty, but with strict orders to confine his activities within certain bounds. The Class-meeting was specially interdicted, and all attempts at distinctively Methodist organization were given up except that once a year a ticket was given to those who professed the forgiveness of their sins. Apparently an evangelical and experimental piety was a matter of suspicion in the eyes of the authorities. In spite of all this the leaven continued to work, and in 1848 the membership amounted to 800, and preaching was continued in fifty towns and villages. In 1848 he describes a religious awakening that came to the people among whom he worked, and all the familiar features of a Methodist 'Revival' appeared in the Churches under his care. An addition of 250 members is recorded in the Church for this year.

In 1849 the first representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America appeared in Germany, Ludwig Jacoby opening a Mission in Bremen during that year. Jacoby was the convert of Dr. Wilhelm Nast, who having emigrated from

Germany to America, came under Methodist influences and was converted from what he himself describes as 'mystic Pantheism' to faith in Christ. This appearance of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany was destined to affect the Wesleyan work in that country, as we shall see later on, but for the present we note the circumstances under which it began work in this country, and also that in 1850 the proposal was made that the work begun at Winnenden should be incorporated in that of the American Church. The English Society, however, did not agree to this proposal.

In 1853 it became evident that Müller's health was beginning to fail, and that the long and faithful service was approaching its close. The Committee accordingly asked Mr. Müller to nominate two or three who in his opinion were most qualified for service in the Church. Three were nominated, of whom Gottlieb Steinlen afterwards succeeded to the pastorate. Steinlen had been in America for twenty-eight years, and, returning to Germany in 1845, he became the friend and helper of Müller. He visited England in 1853 that he might be presented to the Committee, and he was at once appointed co-agent with Müller. After the death of the latter he took up the service of his friend and continued to serve, 'a model of diligence, humility, and sanctified love,' until his retirement in 1878. He entered into rest in 1884. Müller continued his ministry of grace and power for five years after Steinlen's appointment, but in 1858 he closed his earthly service to enter upon the larger ministry that awaited him. For twenty-five years he had been the spiritual guide of those who had through him entered into the life of faith in Christ. In fidelity, in diligence, and in spiritual influence the Church had never found a better servant. Alone, unaided, owing nothing to ministerial position, a simple layman wholly devoted to Christ, he had gathered around him a large company of 'children in the Gospel,' and at the time of his death there were more than 1,000 members of the Church to which he ministered. It is to be questioned whether in all the annals of the Wesleyan Church there is any name more worthy of the honour and reverence of the Church.

After Müller's death it was thought desirable to place the Mission on a firmer basis, and the Revs. W. B. Pope and W. B. Boyce were sent to inspect the work and report to the

Committee. The little Church in Germany was honoured in the delegates appointed. Their report was marked by sympathy, insight, discrimination, and wisdom, as might have been expected. They say :

> We were much gratified by evident marks of a sincere though not very intelligent or profound piety. In some of the more distant places there has been a succession of sound conversions, though we could not but observe with regret that in the older places the experience of the members was deeply tinctured by a kind of pietistic conventionality. There has been, and there still is, a good work going on among our people ; but it is very plain, and the impression deepened from day to day, that it suffers greatly, both as to its depth and extension, through the disuse of our ordinances, and the lack of pastoral supervision.
>
> We were convinced that they only need the supervision of a recognized ministerial head to become agents in a great and prosperous work. They have been labouring hitherto under every disadvantage, and the fact that they have pursued their work with so much simplicity and perseverance is proof that God is with them. With all their deficiencies they are Christian men, with a simple, common aim, and their style of ministration is peculiarly adapted to the class of people among whom they labour.

As a result of this report the Committee appointed the Rev. John Lyth to take charge of this Mission. He fixed his residence at Stetten, near Cannstadt, and for six years laboured with great success. He had certain initial difficulties to overcome. Some of the Lutheran clergy placed every obstacle in his way. They revived an old law of 1743, passed in order to oppose the Pietists. According to this law no private meeting for religious worship could be held without the permission of the parish vestry ; only fifteen persons were allowed to be present ; they were all to be of one sex, must meet out of church hours, and never in the evening. Under the application of this obsolete legislation members were often fined, and in one case they were imprisoned. An appeal was made against this rule, and a petition was presented signed by fifteen thousand persons. It was evident that the Methodist Church had the sympathy of a considerable number of those outside of their communion. With patience and tact within a year or two the necessary amount of religious freedom was obtained.

The action of the Lutheran clergy is surprising when we

remember that that Church has always laid great stress upon 'the continuous witness to the truth of the Gospel, given through the Holy Spirit, as this truth is applied and developed from age to age in believing personalities. Such believers, according to its teaching, constitute the inner spiritual organism of the Church.' But, as the writer from whom we quote[1] goes on to say, 'The union of Church and State has not only prevented the principles of Lutheranism from being applied in entire consistency to practice, but has also often interjected adjustments of theory and policy foreign to both its spirit and its teaching.'

In 1861 the work had so developed that the Rev. J. M. Morill was sent to assist John Lyth, and there was a large increase among those to whom Methodist teaching had brought both light and peace. The Rev. William Arthur visited the Mission during this year, and estimated that there were fourteen thousand people attending Methodist services. The number of assistants had increased sevenfold. The time had now come for Dr. Lyth to return to England, and in 1864 he withdrew from the Mission. During the six years he had done much to organize the Church as well as to extend its borders. He was a true Missionary, with a firm grasp of evangelical truth, and he was, in addition, no mean scholar, embracing a wide range, and pre-eminent in philosophy and science. But that which made him the successful Missionary which he was was the brotherly consideration he had for all; in his relations to others he showed himself wise and gentle and strong.

He was followed by another of equal devotion and efficiency. The Rev. J. C. Barratt had previously served in the West Indies, and after a short spell of work in England he now took up the work in Germany, and in the year following that of his appointment he reported an increase of 461 members. It is clear that the Methodist movement in Germany was far from having spent its force. In 1869 there were more than 1,800 members within its fellowship. The opposition of the Lutheran clergy still continued. One of the prelates of the Synod in Würtemberg, while deploring the low state of morals in the State and the laxity of religious observance in the Church, mentioned, as one of the sad consequences, that it made easy

[1] H. E. Jacobs, art., 'Lutheranism,' *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII., p. 204.

'the intrusion of the importunate Methodists,' while another, an Archdeacon, declared that it was his intention to declare from the pulpit that any one attending either the love-feasts or the Class-meetings of the Methodists would be excluded from the communion of the Lutheran Church. The Class-meeting especially came under the ban of these ecclesiastical authorities. Apparently they considered it to be another form of the Roman confessional. Probably they saw that it was the central source of the strength of a movement of which they were more than suspicious. The report for 1870 showed ten Circuits in the Würtemberg District, with ten German Ministers and assistant Ministers on the staff so ably led by Barratt. But at the close of the list there is an item, which passes without comment in the report, which is nevertheless of greatest interest. It is that of the inclusion of Vienna among the Circuits of the German Mission. To Vienna there had been sent the Rev. Christian Dieterle in 1870, and though he was speedily arrested, he was at once released, with an apology, on producing the licence with which he had been provided, and he continued to preach in homes that were thrown open to him, with the result that cases of true conversion at once occurred, and it was evident that here, as in Würtemberg, there were those who felt the quickening power of spiritual religion as proclaimed by the Methodist Preachers. Methodism in Vienna has a special interest of its own, and we shall seek to give a connected account of its history, but for the present we must return to Barratt in Würtemberg. In 1872 he opened a training institution at Waiblingen, and two years after it was thought well to appoint a second English Minister that he might help in the work of that institution, and minister to the English and German congregation. The Rev. W. H. Johnston was therefore sent out. This Minister had been for five years connected with the German Mission in London, and remained in Germany until 1879, when he returned to take up work in England. He was followed at Cannstadt by the Rev. J. G. Tasker, who served in the institution for three years, when he, too, returned to England. Dr. Tasker—as he afterwards became—left a deep impression behind him, as may be seen in the affectionate respect with which he is still regarded by German Ministers who came under his influence, and after his return to England his years in Germany still

bore fruit through his making familiar to English readers the trend of thought in Germany.

The Franco-German war of 1870 naturally caused some dislocation of the work in Germany, some of our German Ministers being called up to serve in the army. The pause in our work, however, was not of long duration, and the leaven still continued to work, as may be seen in the revival which broke out at Schorndorf in 1874. In this year, too, a beginning was made in Bavaria, the Rev. Ch. Beutenmüller visiting the historic town of Augsburg and preaching as he found opportunity. Augsburg, it will be remembered, was the town in which Luther had to confront the Papal Nuncio in 1519, and from which he escaped through the assistance of friends. In 1806 the town came under the jurisdiction of Bavaria, and as Methodism was not recognized in that kingdom as a registered ecclesiastical authority, Beutenmüller met with much opposition from both the Lutheran and Roman clergy. He persisted, however, in his attempts, with the result that a small but faithful community has from that time to the present borne witness to the truth of the Gospel of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ.

No better account of the position held by the Methodist Church in Germany at this time than that given by the Rev. Dr. Jobson could be desired. Dr. Jobson was on his way to Switzerland when he had an opportunity for inspecting the work in Germany, and speaks of the surprise he felt in finding so much that is substantial and encouraging. He gives statistics:

> Some *twenty* Circuits, and some of them in principal cities such as Vienna, Munich, and Stuttgart, together with Cannstadt, and other important towns in Würtemberg, its 19 Preachers and Pastors, all German, except the General Superintendent and Mr. Johnston, its 99 Local Preachers, 2,422 Class members of Society, 2,371 Sunday-school scholars, under 138 teachers—not to name other agents employed—all this shows that an extended work of God is being carried on in Germany by Wesleyan Methodism.

He reviews the work done by Mr. Müller and Dr. Lyth, and pays due tribute to their fidelity and efficiency. Of Mr. Barratt he says:

> Mr. Barratt—who possesses, in an eminent degree, the power

of method and construction, combined with force and ability to carry out what is prescribed by plan and arrangement—has availed himself skilfully of the preparations made by those who preceded him, and is ably and energetically establishing and extending Methodism in Germany, so much so that its jealous opponents admit that it is now too late to think of rooting it up, or preventing its increase in the country.

In 1876 an interesting letter from Barratt describing a tour which he made of the Circuits under his superintendence suggests how far the good seed of Methodist teaching had been flung. Leaving Würtemberg, he entered Bavaria and found a little flock in Nuremberg, where Methodist services had been conducted for some months. Thence he came to Neusalz, in Silesia, where he found the provision made for worship by the State Church very insufficient. From Neusalz he went to Vienna, where the Minister, Mr. Beutenmüller, was at the point of death. In each place he preached to congregations who seemed to be suffering from a veritable famine for the word of God. His 'Diocese' was already sufficiently large, but he contemplated a still further advance, and he hoped in the following spring to visit both Hungary and Servia. He did not reach those countries in 1886, but his account of his visit to the Methodist Churches in Bavaria is full of interest both from an historical and an ecclesiastical point of view. For instance, he speaks of the place from which the parents of Philip Embury and of Barbara Heck[1] came to Ireland, and later on appeared in America, with results which have already been described. Of Erlangen, the Protestant University town of Bavaria, of Nuremberg, Zirndorf, and Bayreuth he writes with an evident appreciation of the part which each town had played in the history of Bohemia, and in each place he found happy indications of response to the Methodist proclamation and appeal. In some of the Bavarian towns the meetings of the Methodists were absolutely prohibited, and in others such severe limitations were imposed as to amount to an interdict. Methodists were forbidden to conduct any meeting which suggested an act of public worship. An address or lecture was permitted, but congregational singing and public prayer were forbidden. A petition to the King secured the necessary freedom from such limitations, and in an official *Gazette* published in May, 1885, it was announced

[1] See Vol. I., p. 206.

that 'His Majesty the King has graciously condescended to sanction the grant to the Wesleyan Methodists in Bavaria of the rights of a private Church association, according to the statutes and provisions of the edict of religion.' This announcement was received with great joy as a gift of freedom where freedom was most desired. In Bohemia he speaks of the reverse suffered by Protestants in the country of John Huss. At the beginning of the seventeenth century four-fifths of the population of Bohemia were Protestants, but now less than three per cent., about equally divided between the followers of Luther and those of Zwingli. In Bohemia, too, difficulties had been put in the way of Methodists assembling for worship, but with tact and patience the restrictions were removed. In Kladno the evangelist, Mr. Pazdral, had won the confidence of a considerable number of persons, and when Barratt administered the Lord's Supper to the little Church a gracious influence, long to be remembered, was felt by all.

But the opponents of Methodism were not to be easily diverted from their efforts, and in 1886 Mr. Pazdral had on three different occasions to appear before magistrates on charges of 'disturbing public religious worship.' Apparently both in Bavaria and Bohemia services could only be held where Church members were already to be found. In each case the evangelist was acquitted, but that he should be charged with a breach of law was a vexing intimation that those who sought an experience of the grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ were thereby the objects of suspicion and the victims of persecution. Presently an even more serious difficulty was put in the way of the Methodists of Kladno. It appears that children were expected to produce a school certificate before they could take up any form of work, and that in these certificates a report as to their progress in religious knowledge was an indispensable item. Such reports were usually signed by a priest or the clergyman of some Church recognized by the State. It followed that unless the Methodists consented to the religious education of the priest, those children would receive no certificates. With the sanction of the Imperial Minister of Education certificates which lacked such a report were refused. Pazdral was in great anxiety and trouble. He presents Barratt with an alternative :

Either we must be prepared, at the cost of much patience, skill,

and money, to see to it that our people are not obliged to submit to all manner of disabilities as the present reward for joining our Church, or we must ask ourselves whether we are justified in continuing our work where such disabilities prevail.

But in spite of such attempts to destroy the Methodist Church it still continued to exist, and though there were no large accessions to report, yet the character of the new life into which its members entered was such as to rejoice the hearts of those who watched the growth of the Church in surroundings so hostile, and so ready to remove that which rebuked their own lack of spiritual experience in religion.

In 1891 Mr. Barratt was on furlough, in the course of which he was able to revisit the scene of his earlier ministry in the island of St. Vincent.[1] He returned to Cannstadt, and took up again the work which had so wonderfully developed under his direction. But his task was done, and its close came suddenly. On October 30, 1892, he preached for the last time at Munich from the text 'Well done, good and faithful servant,' and on November 4 he sat down to prepare another from the text 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.' That sermon was never finished. In a few short minutes he had entered into the blessedness which he sought to describe.

It is difficult to sum up the striking qualities, many and varied, that go to the making of so great a man and a Missionary as J. C. Barratt. Perhaps the few words in which this is done in the report for the year 1893 are best, though the amplest elaboration of each single term would scarcely do justice to one of the greatest Missionaries of the Methodist Church. He was 'A wise and good man, one who served with fidelity and ruled with discretion, and his name will stand honourably conspicuous in the history of German Methodism.'

In the District, which he administered with so much fidelity and success, his hand was to be seen everywhere. 'Its perfect organization as a Methodist District bears testimony not only to the grasp which he had of Methodist principles, but also to the thoroughness with which these principles were maintained and applied and carried out into the minutest details of Circuit administration. The ministry, too, which he was, under God, instrumental in raising and training, is a living

[1] See Vol. II., p. 386.

monument of his wise discernment and patient, loving toil. How loving and how patient only those who have had similar work to do in other fields can form any conception. No finer monument can be raised to Mr. Barratt's memory than that which already exists—the German District and its fine German ministry.' It is related that at his last Synod all the Preachers save one were his sons in the ministry. When he took charge of the Mission he found 7 chapels, and there were in addition 89 ' preaching-places ' ; when he died he left 22 chapels (many of them with a parsonage attached) and 197 places where services were regularly held. Although there had been considerable emigration the membership of the Church had risen from a little over 1,000 to 2,308, while Sunday-school scholars had increased in number from 738 to 2,573. Judged from the point of view of these statistics no Missionary of our Church has left a better record, and if we turn to consider the spiritual results seen in the life of the members of the Church that record is even more impressive. The Church may well glorify God in His servant. The Rev. Edmund Rigg, who had formerly served in Ceylon and in England, was appointed to succeed him, and he continued in office until the union of English Methodism in Germany with that of America took place. During the four years of his administration the burden of financing the Church became very great. The membership of the Church was not found among the wealthier classes, and even the better paid artisans had not joined the Church in any numbers. Its members were for the most part drawn from the class of peasants, and they were not in a position to contribute largely to the treasury of the Church. It speaks volumes for their generosity and spirit of self-sacrifice that the contributions tended continually to increase. The pressure became so great that it was even proposed to close the most valuable training institution at Cannstadt. But it is indicative of financial stringency in England also that the Committee was obliged to state that in that case their grant would be diminished in proportion. An important incident in the local administration of the Church took place, during the chairmanship of Edmund Rigg, in the appointment of a Board of Trustees for Methodist property in Germany. At first it was decided that the Board should be half English and half German, but it was found that German law required

that in such a Board the majority should be of German nationality, and in consequence the Board, when formed, consisted of ten Germans and five Englishmen.

Before we pass to consider the union of the two Methodist Churches in Germany space must be found for at least a reference to an institution which has been found in Germany, as elsewhere, to be of immense value to the Church. This was the institution of an order of deaconesses. It was founded in 1887 by the Rev. G. J. Ekert, and State recognition was happily secured before the close of that year. The work commenced with one sister appointed in Nuremberg, while another was being trained in Berlin. Four years after there were four homes and twenty-six sisters, so that it is evident that there was a felt need for such work, and also that there was a spirit of response within the Church. It was known by the name of 'The Martha-Maria Verein,' and the sisters were appointed to undertake various kinds of Mission work in the Circuits, to assist in training destitute children, to nurse the sick in hospitals, or to undertake nursing in private houses. They would thus have access to those who were outside of the range of ordinary Church activities, and they might pray with the sick or the dying, where a Minister would be punished by the law if he attempted to do so. The institute continued to grow under the wise direction and management of Pastor Ekert, and in 1895 there were thirty-six sisters at work in four centres—Nuremberg, Munich, Magdeburg, and Vienna.

We have seen that in 1850 suggestions had been made for the union of the American Methodists with the English Methodists, and though the suggestion was not then entertained, yet the mere co-existence of the two Societies, alike in teaching and purpose, was sufficient to keep the question prominently before the leaders of both. As time went on it was seen that the American Mission had elements of strength to which English Methodism could offer no equivalent. English Methodists in Germany emigrating to America found a place and a home in German Methodism in America, and, retaining their sympathy with the land of their birth, would take a more effective interest in the evangelization of their Fatherland, and when they returned, as they sometimes did, they would naturally find themselves more akin to a Church order with which they had identified themselves during their absence.

It was felt, too, that union would secure economy of working, and remove the reproach of sectarianism in Societies so nearly akin. Accordingly in 1895 the Wesleyan Synod in Germany requested the Missionary Society in England to enter into negotiations with the Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church with a view to effecting a union of the two Churches. At that time the Episcopal Church in Germany had two Conferences comprising seven Districts, in which there were 85 Ministers, while the membership amounted to nearly 9,000, with 3,000 on probation for membership, as against 2,300 members in the Wesleyan communion, with 113 on trial for membership.

The annual report for the year 1896 contained the following announcement :

> To our work in Germany we probably refer for the last time. The year has been one of steady progress, and the position of things was perhaps never sounder or more promising than it is to-day. But for reasons carefully considered, and judged to be sufficient, the Committee, with the sanction of the Conference, has consented to the request of the District Synod to be transferred to the Episcopal Church in Germany. Advantages are hoped for as a consequence of this union which the Committee earnestly trust may be realized. The German Mission has had a history of more than half a century, and, though socially and nationally obscure in its working, a large measure of spiritual blessing has rested upon it from the first. The names of Müller, Lyth, and Barratt, and of many of their devoted fellow labourers, must always be held in grateful remembrance. To them it is mainly due that to-day we transfer to other hands, not an experiment, still less a failure, but a living Church and a fruitful ministry. The severance of connexion is not without pain on both sides, but it is wholly free from estrangement of feeling, and the sacrifice—for such we feel it—is made in what is thought to be the true interest of the work of God.

At the time of separation the statistics of our work in Germany were :

| | |
|---|---|
| Chapels | 23 |
| Preaching-places | 192 |
| Ministers | 33 |
| Sunday-school Teachers | 219 |
| Scholars | 4,395 |
| Members | 2,414 |
| Adherents | 11,325 |

The last Synod before final transference was one of intense

emotion. A short service was held at the grave of the Rev. J. C. Barratt, and then in the Synod each Minister declared his willingness to be transferred to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany. The following account is given by the Rev. Frederic W. Macdonald, who represented the Missionary Society in that Synod :

> Though all were convinced of the wisdom of the step that was being taken, the years of connexion with English Methodism, and the memories of days that are past and men that are gone, are a part of the very life of those who have shared them, and, in the case of the elder Ministers at least, the future can never displace or overshadow them. Heartfelt testimony was borne to the fostering care of the Missionary Society from the first beginnings of its work in Germany, and to the character and services of the chairmen—Messrs. Lyth, Barratt, and Rigg—under whose direction the work had grown and prospered. A farewell address to the Missionary Committee was read, and when the members rose to their feet to pass it by a unanimous and impressive vote, few could restrain their tears. Whatever may be the future of this District in its new relations, its past history will remain enshrined in the hearts of all who have been connected with it.

The Methodist Church in AUSTRIA was from first to last administered as a section of the German Mission, but it possesses certain features of its own, and it will conduce to clearness if the events of its history are considered separately, and not co-ordinated with contemporary events in Germany. In 1870 it was announced that work had been begun in Austria, 'once the most intolerant, now one of the most liberal, of continental Governments,' and we have seen that Mr. Dieterle had been able to obtain a somewhat restricted licence to preach and was holding services in houses opened to his ministry. This work was interrupted by the serious illness of the Minister, but was afterwards successfully taken up again. Services continued to be held under the restrictions imposed until 1884, by which time there were 18 members returned as connected with the Church in Vienna. In 1884 the law governing public meetings had been abused by certain socialistic agitators, and all meetings were forbidden. After a few weeks permission was obtained to resume them, but only under the following conditions. Each Monday morning an application was to be sent to the Lord Lieutenant, with a two-shilling stamp affixed, for permission to hold a meeting the following Sunday. That application required the signature

of a responsible Austrian citizen, and the subject of the proposed address was to be stated. It had also to contain the assurance that the attendance would be limited to 'invited guests' (i.e. to persons who could show a card of invitation), and that entrance money would not be charged. In spite of such harrowing restrictions the work was carried on, and while the number attending such services was naturally small, the services strengthened and instructed those who found them a means of grace. Barratt, after a visit to Vienna, records his judgement that 'if there be a country or a city needing the simple Gospel of Christ, Austria is that country, Vienna is that city.'

In 1889 there took place an event which led to a great access of strength and hope in the Church in Vienna. This was the conversion of the Baroness Von Langenau. This lady was the widow of an Austrian Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg. In 1873 the loss of her only child led her to take up various forms of religious work, but a deep consciousness of sin made that 'anodyne' of no effect, and her wretchedness rather increased. She was induced to attend the Methodist services, and presently the knowledge of the love of God brought to her the assurance of the forgiveness of sin. As she herself said, 'At last my eyes were opened, I surrendered my will, I trusted, and was saved.' She at once gave herself up to a ministry in which her humility was as marked as her mental vigour and strength of character. Her home was thrown open for the holding of Gospel services and for the purposes of a Sunday school. She made herself the friend of the most obscure, and seemed oblivious of her high rank and social position. She used her influence with those in authority to protect and succour the little company of humble folk with whom she had identified herself. She was generous in her gifts, and the sisterhood of deaconesses found in her a liberal supporter. To further the work of the Society in Vienna she gave to the Society the gift of eighty-one thousand florins, in addition to valuable house property in Vienna. When that property was handed over to the Methodist Episcopal Church on the occasion of the union of the two Churches it was valued at £11,575, and she herself joined the Episcopal Church with the rest of our members. While on a visit to England in 1902 she died suddenly, and was buried in this country, but she left behind her the memory of a gracious

personality and of a simple and childlike acceptance of Christ as her Lord and Saviour. In a very real sense, for her ' to live was Christ.'

A difficult situation was created in 1891 owing to the adoption by a Methodist Bishop of the twenty-fifth Article of the Anglican Church against the sacrifice of the Mass. It was held by the authorities that the adoption of this Article as a part of the Methodist ' Programme ' involved a contempt for, and depreciation of, the Roman Church, and that ' the propagation of the Article of Belief aforementioned in the way of household religious services stands in opposition to the existing statutes.' As a consequence our chapel was closed and the Preacher inhibited. The matter was brought before the attention of the Committee in London, which at once protested that the Articles of the Church of England do not form the legal basis of the Methodist Church, that no such sentence occurs in our ecclesiastical standards, and that the document in which this quotation appears was not printed for circulation in Austria. The Committee also offered to undertake that it should not be circulated. The appeal of Mr. Rosch, at that time our Minister in Vienna, was, however, rejected, and the inhibition maintained. It was then proposed that the Mission Secretaries should seek an interview with the Austrian Ambassador in London, and a deputation was appointed to wait upon Lord Rosebery. This deputation was not, however, received by Lord Rosebery, but he offered to communicate with the British Ambassador at Vienna. The Baroness Von Langenau begged the Committee to persevere, and suggested an appeal to the Emperor of Austria, and the Rev. F. W. Macdonald went to Vienna to inquire into the matter and to take such steps as might be advisable. He found the Church in a state of great depression. The splendid building made over to the Society by the Countess Von Langenau could not be used for worship, and the little flock was sorely discouraged. Mr. Macdonald had an interview with the Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Public Worship, and an appeal for presentation to the Emperor was drawn up and forwarded. There was no appreciable relief to the *impasse* before the work in Austria, together with that in Germany, passed under the guidance and control of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America.

# V

# ITALY

The Risorgimento—Richard Green and Henry Piggott—The Beginning of the Italian Mission—Evangelistic Agencies in Italy—Italian Ministers—Milan and Naples—Educational Work—Retrenchment — Church Organization — Padua — Ragghianti — Methodism in Rome—Sciarelli—Capellini's Mission to Soldiers—Village Evangelization—Pontificate of Leo XIII—Rearrangements—Retirement of Piggott and Jones—William Burgess—Union of Churches—Subsequent Developments.

In the story of the Methodist Mission to Italy the shadow of coming events is to be found in a speech delivered by the Rev. Dr. Dixon in connexion with the Society's anniversary meetings of 1849. Speaking of the work among the Waldenses Dr. Dixon said :

> There you are just on the edge of Italy proper. Set a Missionary or two to work and to watch the progress of events, and, if he can get in, let him go there. (A voice : ' To Rome ? ') Yes, to Rome. Who knows but that some of you young people may see ' Rome ' as a station on our Minutes ?

Twelve years were to pass before a Methodist Minister appeared in Italy, but Dr. Dixon's anticipation is interesting as showing that before the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of Methodist work in Italy was in the mind of thoughtful men. The way by which it was to enter led through the great religious and political disturbances which occurred in the eventful decade that followed.

In 1859 and 1860 came the marvellous series of events which resulted in a Kingdom of Italy. Venice, and the old Venetian territory as far as the famous Quadrilateral (Verona, Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago), remained still under Austria. The Pope still ruled over Rome and a much diminished portion of the old Pontifical States, Bologna and the Romagna along the Adriatic having joined the new Italy. It was during the ferment of this period that the Rev. William Arthur, at that

time one of the Missionary Secretaries, visited Italy, and wrote his brilliant book, *Italy in Transition*. Nowhere better than in that volume could be found depicted the condition of things, political, social, and religious, in the country at that time. It was mainly owing to the impressions that Mr. Arthur brought away with him and communicated to his colleagues and to the Methodist public that the question was raised whether the time was not opportune for establishing a Methodist Mission in Italy. Indeed, one or two first steps were taken by Mr. Arthur himself.

To an ex-priest, Bartholomew Gualtieri by name, who was already preaching to a congregation in Florence, a subsidy was granted by the Society sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his work. And with Salvatore Feretti, another ex-priest who had for some time been doing evangelical work among Italians in London, relations were entered into which led subsequently to the transference of Feretti to Florence, and the establishment there of an orphanage and day schools under his superintendence.

The decision to open a Mission was not, however, taken until the ground had been more carefully explored. After the Conference of 1860 the Rev. Richard Green was sent to Italy as a pioneer to investigate and to report. He resided for some months both in Florence and Naples, and in both centres formed intimate relations with evangelical workers, and won for himself a love and esteem impossible to exaggerate. His report was altogether favourable to the opportuneness, both as to time and field, of the establishment of a Wesleyan Methodist Mission in the new Italy. It was therefore resolved in Committee that the Mission be opened by Mr. Green himself, with a colleague to be chosen, and the choice fell upon one of the most gifted and devoted Missionaries which the Methodist Church has ever sent into the field of Missionary service, the Rev. Henry J. Piggott. The two men had met at a Missionary meeting in the Hammersmith Circuit, where Piggott was then stationed, and a peculiarly close friendship between the two was established, the bonds of which were never loosened. The result of that meeting was that these two were designated by the Conference of 1861 to the new field, their places of residence to be determined as the hand of God should guide.

By the same Conference of 1861 Benedetto Lissolo, a young Italian, and an ex-seminarist of the Church of Rome, who had come under Waldensian influence, had migrated to London, and had there been employed by the Seamen's Mission as evangelist to foreign seamen, was accepted as Italian Minister on trial. He preceded the two Englishmen to Italy, as he wished to visit his family and friends on the Alpine slopes north of Turin. Green and Piggott arrived in Turin on December 7, 1861, and they were soon afterwards joined by Lissolo, who reported a hopeful evangelistic work in the neighbourhood of his village home. This determined Piggott to make a start in that neighbourhood, though it was recognized that such work would be temporary, the two friends having agreed to work side by side wherever the centre of their Mission should be afterwards fixed. Piggott therefore went to Ivrea, the nearest town north of Turin to the district where Lissolo had begun work. Green, who had arranged to 'supply' for a Presbyterian Minister during his absence, went to Naples. Piggott thus describes the conditions under which he began his work:

> We remained in Ivrea four months, occupying roughly furnished rooms over the public pawnshop—the Monte di Pieta, as we euphemistically call the institution in Italy. It was a hard but interesting initiation. Tea was only to be had as a drug from the chemist's, tainted with long years' absorption of all the scents of the shop. The bread was so sour that my poor children thrust it from them, though with tears of hunger, and I have a vivid picture of how, after dismissing the cab, I found my wife, insufferant by instinct and habit of dirt, crouched with bent knees on a chair, and gazing in despair on the floor, on which no pail of water had ever been poured since the cement that covered it had been laid down.

Lissolo's evangelistic work proved most interesting. In three or four villages up the mountain valleys small groups of pious souls came to seek and to find in the simple Gospel of Christ the peace and new life they had been seeking vainly in the Church of Rome. In Ivrea itself, before the four months had closed, a hall was opened for preaching, to which at first large audiences thronged. But these early successes did not induce an easy and baseless optimism in Piggott. In a letter dated September, 1862, he says:

> For years yet everything must go on slowly in this land. The

difficulties in the way of evangelistic enterprise are great—greater than any cursory observer could imagine. It is not all true that is currently said in England of the rupture of the Italian mind from the Roman faith. Nothing, indeed, can be more extreme than the vituperation and ridicule which, just at this crisis, are poured upon the Pope and the priesthood; but the Italians distinguish, or try to distinguish, between Popery as a system of religion and the men who administer and abuse it. The Roman Catholic faith is still the faith of their ancestors, the faith associated with all the past glories of their land in art, science, and story. It is, in fact, the only Christian faith which the mass of the people recognize. . . . The long political agony is doing something—strengthening national character, consolidating new institutions—and, seeing how wisely the providence of God is ruling the destinies of the nation, one's hope is strong that the baptisms of the Spirit will follow.

These were wise and discriminating words, calculated to correct any impression that the task before the Church was an easy one, yet strong in the hope of seeing 'the baptisms of the Spirit.'

It is quite evident that the Mission in Italy had evoked the widest interest in the Church at home, and that the Committee entirely sympathized with their representatives, and gave much time to the consideration of what should be done to further their effort. But even in these early days the financial stringency, which has checked all enterprise on the continent of Europe, began to show itself, and it was intimated that they would not be justified in sanctioning any increase in the Italian Mission unless the Church would respond to a special appeal for Italy. It was considered that £4,000 per annum was required by the growing necessities of the work. In 1864—only three years from the inception of the work—the Committee announce with great regret that steps were to be taken for the withdrawal of the Mission from Naples and Florence. This elicited a letter from Henry Piggott which only lack of space prevents us from quoting *in extenso*. His vision of a great opportunity given to the Church is clear, and there is something of a heartbreak in the words with which he deplores that means are not forthcoming to enable him to take the tide at its full. His closing sentence reveals a mind filled with the vision of something far greater than a mere sectarian success:

What if, as Methodists, we do not see our money and effort fructify in some great filiation to our own Methodist Church? If we see a

grand, distinct, national, Protestantism rise, mighty because indigenous, adding a distinctively Italian phase to our many-sided Christianity, will not that be a sufficiently remunerative result ?

Truly the Church has need to repent that it sent the Missionary to take up this work, and left him to be hampered and restricted at every turn by withholding the means of his doing that work with the efficiency which it demanded.

This was not the only disappointment of those days. In 1863 there came the tidings of a great ' catastrophe,' as Piggott describes it. Richard Green's health had broken down so completely in Naples that in the judgement of medical authority his return to England was necessary, and it was further stated that his return to Italy was impossible, and so the close fellowship in service that had meant so much to these two friends was broken. We may not pause to describe the character and service of Richard Green. Perhaps the best comment upon this sad blow to the infant Mission will be found in the words of the one who remained to carry alone the burden of that service which had first united them :

> In view of Richard Green's long, useful, and honoured service to Methodism in England, one cannot doubt that the Head of the Church and Lord of the field thus ordered events. But to Mr. Green's solitary and dismayed colleague the blow was a terrible one, and the loss to the Italian Mission who can estimate ?

We have seen that Piggott looked upon his stay in Ivrea as temporary. It was not wanting in significant incidents; such as the appearance of Don Ambrogio, a priest of Piedmont, who had shared the aspirations of the new times, and had given himself up to itinerant preaching of a politico-ecclesiastic reform. He was the cause of perplexity and trouble to municipal authorities by reason of his popular orations. Many years afterwards Mr. Piggott met him again still pursuing his propaganda for reform. In 1862 he determined to move to Milan, one of the largest cities in Italy, and a centre from which he would be able to exert a wider range of influence. The work in and near Ivrea was handed over to the Waldenses. The region was near their valleys, Turin had already become a centre of their evangelistic work, and the surrender to them of this first-fruit of Methodist missionary labour created relations of friendship and confidence between the two Churches of infinitely higher value than any mere statistics of early

success. In his memorandum Piggott describes the evangelistic agencies already on the field, and also the general condition of the field itself, limiting his view to free Italy, north of the Papal States. He says :

'The Waldensian Church had already undertaken to carry through the whole country the Gospel it had for so many centuries preserved incorrupt in its own valleys. The civil and religious freedom acquired by Piedmont in 1848 had removed from it all restrictions of worship and propaganda within Piedmont itself. Simultaneously a great revival of spiritual life had been breathed into both Pastors and people, chiefly through the agency of the well-known English lay evangelist, General Beckwith. Throughout Scotland leading Ministers, like Dr. Thomas Guthrie, had organized Committees to supply funds for a vigorous evangelistic campaign in that new Italy of which the liberal constitution of Piedmont had now become the Magna Charta. The Waldensians asserted their Italian citizenship, and entered upon their Mission with the prestige of their long and glorious history. They had already purchased the large and central buildings they still occupy in the Via dei Serragli in Florence, and had transferred to the Tuscan capital their college for the training of their Ministers. They were also rapidly opening centres of evangelization in the principal cities and towns of Northern and Central Italy.

'Another of the evangelistic agencies at work when Methodism entered the field was that of " The Brethren." As the title indicates, these were Plymouthist in their views of truth and in their modes of work. The condition of things under the old tyrannical governments had favoured the secret gatherings of pious believers in twos or threes without pastorate or ecclesiastical organization. The reaction against papal sacerdotalism and ritual led naturally to the opposite extreme. In England, Switzerland, and Italy itself there were godly Plymouthists of the Anglican Church for the most part, deeply interested in the awakening of Italy, who became instrumental in the conversion of certain very notable Italians. Count Guicciardini, head and representative of that ancient and illustrious Florentine house, was soundly converted through Plymouthist influence. The same thing happened to Buonaventura Mazzarella, deputy to the Constituent Assembly

of Rome in the patriotic days of Pius IX, subsequently University Professor of Philosophy, and a well-known member of the Italian Parliament when Rome had become the capital of United Italy. Under the Grand Dukes of Tuscany two English Plymouthist ladies conducted those secret meetings of Bible-readers which led to the imprisonment of the Madiai and their companions, setting Protestant England in a blaze. Fruits of their influence were Gualtieri and Feretti, of whom mention has already been made, and a yet more notable Florentine evangelist of the name of Magvini. Two Committees, the one sitting at Nice, the other at Geneva, provided the sinews of war, but with very little oversight. In the spring of 1862 there existed three of their preaching-halls; in Florence there were two, those of Gualtieri and Magvini (Rosa Madiai was still a member of the one, and Francesco Madiai of the other). Mazzarella was at Genoa, where he lectured in the University during the week, and conducted the gathering of "The Brethren" on the Sunday. By his side was a still more notable man, Dr. Luigi De Sanctis, ex-parish priest of the Church of the Maddalena in Rome, whose controversial treatises were to become text-books of the Italian Reform, and to be circulated by tens of thousands through the length and breadth of the land. In Turin, in Bologna, in Leghorn, and in other cities there were also already evangelists of the same Plymouthist type. Unfortunately the assumption of the Brethren that they alone held faithfully to the doctrine and practice of primitive Christianity led to no little friction with their Waldensian fellow workers, and it was inevitable that they should view the appearance on the field of a Church organization like that of Methodism with no less disfavour.'

A succinct and yet a sufficient justification of missionary operations in Italy is given by Henry Piggott in his Memorandum.[1] This latter was prepared in 1912, so that it represents the mature view of one who to a singularly broad view on all questions of religion added the immense advantage of having been in closest touch with the Romish Church at the very centre of its far-extended influence. Mr. Piggott says:

> Christianity in Italy has, to a large extent, sunk to the condition

[1] See also *Life and Letters of H. J. Piggott*, pp. 242–244.

of a network of local superstition little better than the ancient paganism. The local saint or Madonna is the real object of adoration, and even that in a grossly material form. Many a procession have I seen in which the figure of the Crucified Saviour borne in the forefront has passed with no act of adoration, while every knee has been bowed to the following image of the local saint, or of the Madonna of this or that designation.

The legends out of which such worship has sprung are often absurd to a degree. No festival in my early Roman days attracted greater crowds than that of the *Madonna of Gennazano*, some twenty miles from the capital. The peasantry flocked thither by hundreds, not from the Pontifical States only, but from the ex-kingdom of Naples, sleeping in the open air all over the countryside. From morning to night the large church filled, emptied, and refilled every half-hour or so with a fanatical, vociferating multitude. Yet I heard no one ask for a spiritual blessing. The vows and outcries were for bodily healing and blessings for the basket and store. And every now and then, when a shout of '*Evviva la Madonna*' rent the air, one heard inquiries on all hands, 'Which is it?' 'Where?' 'Who?' And what was the legend out of which all had sprung? It was being distributed by thousands in a minute tract! In the house at Nazareth St. Luke had painted a portrait of Mary. When the house itself was borne by angels through the air to Loreto, the picture had fallen by the way at Scutari. There it had remained for centuries, till one day people of the place, walking on the esplanade in front of the gate of this village of Gennazano, saw something high up overhead. It fell at their feet. It was this ancient likeness of the Virgin from the brush of St. Luke.

This is but a sample of hundreds of similar superstitions spread over Italy, especially in those provinces in which the head of the Church held most absolute sway. In Rome itself matters were no better. The popular worship was not Christian. It was not the high altar, with the image of the Crucified and the symbols of the 'Real Presence,' which drew the hourly afflux of devotees, but the chapel in which was the legendary Madonna or the local saint. From the church of the *Redentore*, a recent erection under the Pontificate of Pius IX, were distributed sheets of thin tissue paper, on which were stamped some hundreds of tiny figures of the Virgin and the Child; each to be detached, crushed up between the fingers, and then taken as a pill for the cure of disease. Leaves from the thorn-bed in which St. Benedict had rolled nude for the mortification of the flesh were distributed in the same way as charms from the popular convent of the saint at Subiaco.

From such a state of things had inevitably grown a total divorce between religion and morals. The secret of the power of the Roman Catholic Church over the Italian population lies just here: the Viaticum duly administered by the priest has the virtue of a passport. '*Ex opere operato*'—'the last Sacrament absolves.' There are tens of thousands of devout women in Italy—wives and mothers—who see their husbands, fathers, and sons leading immoral lives; openly,

flagrantly negligent of all religious worship; avowedly infidel. And the only hope of these pious souls is that at the last these, their loved ones, will call in the priest, and die '*Confortati dagli uffici della Chiesa*' ('Consoled by the offices of the Church'), as the phrase goes. The grip which the Church that can thus stand between this world and the next has upon a people, and the disastrous consequences which follow therefrom, need no expounding. And both the supreme need and the supreme difficulty of all evangelical missioning in Italy lie just here.

In view of such a presentation of Christianity it is not to be wondered at that the literature, the culture, the politics, the activities in all spheres of the Italian mind, should have become utterly atheistic. There have been great exceptions; there are, I believe, growing exceptions; but broadly the affirmation remains true. An incident occurred in the Chamber of Deputies, about twelve months before these lines were written, which impressed me at the time as wofully characteristic. One of the most conspicuous orators of the House, who had more than once on other occasions avowed himself an atheist, introduced into a speech he was making the name of God. The Prime Minister of the time—a Jew by race, but of whom I should have expected better things—interrupted him jeeringly, 'So my honourable friend thinks that God has something to do with our affairs,' at which the whole House burst into uncontrollable laughter.

Then there has been, and still is, the—to us English—inconceivable ignorance on the part of even devout Italians of the Gospel story, and of the Holy Scriptures generally. . . .

Many men of renown in the political and literary world have died in the period covered by my Italian life. Of course, in many cases, though not in all, there have been the customary rites of the Church at the death-bed and at the funeral, but in the public commemoration of them, in Parliament, in speeches at the cemetery, in journalistic obituaries and eulogies, I cannot recall a case in which mention was made of God or of a personal immortal life.

Such a statement leaves us wondering, not why the Methodist Church sent its Missionaries to Italy, but why it has not multiplied its agencies in that land of infinite charm and of infinite need a hundredfold.

'As to the new nation itself, of the ferment, the uncertainty, the apparent possibilities of religious revolution at that time in the air, it is difficult for any one who knows only the Italy of to-day even to conceive. The Church of Rome had sided so bitterly and actively with the overthrown tyrannies of the long recent struggle, and still so openly made their cause its own, that popular feeling in high and low was in deadly revolt against the whole institution, its Ministers, and the religion it represented. The Church itself seemed to be reeling in

consternation and bewilderment under the blows with which it was being stricken in the annexation of Papal territory, the abolition of religious orders, the secularization of Church property, and such-like wholesale measures of attack. Leading men like Massimo d'Azeglio and Ricasoli, the " Iron Baron " —successors of Cavour in the premiership—were avowed reformers, if not Protestant, in their sympathies. Many priests of note and influence openly wavered in their allegiance. Passaglia, champion erewhile of the " Immaculate Conception of Maria," entered the Italian Parliament. Another priest, from being the most popular " quaresimalist " of Lombardy, took office under the new State as inspector of schools. Under my own observation occurred the fact that the arch-priest of the most aristocratic church in Milan, after listening to the discourse of one of our Plymouthist evangelists, shook him by the hand and wished him " God-speed." No wonder that in such a state of things the winning over of new Italy to the nations of the reform should have seemed to many of us, in those early days, no idle dream.'

Such was the condition of things in Italy in 1862. In England the new Mission continued to exercise the minds of all thoughtful men, and the Committee gave much time to a consideration of the best way of furthering the work that had been begun. In the year mentioned the important question of an Italian ministry came up for discussion. The Committee resolved that it was

> decidedly of opinion that the most efficient method of promoting the great object which the Society proposes to itself to accomplish in Italy is to facilitate the raising and training of Preachers who shall be at once Italian and Methodist. The Committee has heard with pleasure that there are certain persons in Italy, converted priests and others, whom it may be desirable to employ as evangelists and pastors to their countrymen, and greatly approves the purpose of subjecting such persons to a course of religious instruction and moral training, with a view to fitting them for the discharge of religious duties, and for eventual employment in the work of the ministry, and they direct inquiries to be made as to the number of persons who may at present be deemed suitable for training, and the probable expense of setting apart a Minister whose residence should be fixed in some suitable place to make this his chief employment.

At this point we may well insert an account of the Italian evangelists who first joined the two Missionaries as co-workers.

The following description is given by Mr. Piggott in his Memorandum :

Lissolo, the Ivrea evangelist, and the Florentines Gualtieri and Feretti, have been already mentioned. Another candidate for evangelistic work had been left behind by Mr. Green. This was a young southerner, of good family and superior culture, who in the political troubles of the times had fled to Corsica, where he fell under the influence of a godly Methodist Minister, and by him had been passed over to Mr. Green in Florence during his first visit of explora tion. We knew him as Vincenzo Del Mondo, but his real name was Loreto Scoccia. To him was due the very successful opening of our work in Parma. He did admirable service there, drawing large congregations and winning the sympathy of citizens of high position, such as, for instance, Professor Strobel of the Parmese University, subsequently rector of that ancient school of learning, and for a time Deputy to the Italian Parliament, who to the end of his life retained his attachment to our Church and Mission.

Of another who, after brief service, dropped from our ranks a word or two may be useful as illustrative of the times. The most distinguished professor of English in Milan—perhaps in all Italy at that time—was Ferdinando Bracciforti, editor of the well-known Millhouse's Dictionaries, and of widely used grammars and exercises. If any man gave evidence of sound conversion to Christ that man was Bracciforti. With all his family he joined our infant Church ; and when the new hall was opened, for months he took one of the evening services, preaching with unction and much natural eloquence. But after awhile he fell under the influence of English Unitarians, and after a severe spiritual struggle accepted the Unitarian doctrine, and, being a man of such sincerity that he could never do other than propagate his own convictions, became for long years the ardent advocate in Italy of Unitarian Christianity. This last phrase is used advisedly, for Bracciforti never wavered in his allegiance to Christ as the highest human ideal, and he lived accordingly.

One day, timid and hesitating, a priest called on me at Milan. He came from a country village in the diocese of Mantua. His worn and suffering face confirmed the story he told of five years' immurement in an Austrian dungeon under a charge of conspiracy. The emancipation of Lombardy had brought him into contact with a colporteur of the Bible Society, who placed in his hand a copy of the Word of God. After due local inquiry had given conclusive evidence that he stood well both with authorities and parishioners, I acceded to his request to come to me for further instruction, but throwing on him the entire responsibility of the decisive step. A few days after he burst into my study, and, lifting up his arms, exclaimed : 'I've done it !' Ferdinando Bosio grew from that day in knowledge of the Gospel of God, and, I trust, in personal experience of its power. He remained till the day of his death—hastened by the hardships of his long imprisonment—a faithful evangelist and Pastor in the ranks of our Mission.

Another of these faithful early helpers was Donato Patucelli. In the struggle of 1848–49 for freedom he had devoted his influence as a priest, and considerable oratorical powers, to the cause of his native Lombardy, and on the return of the Austrians had been compelled to expatriate, taking charge of a parish in Catholic Switzerland. Returning to Italy with the emancipation of Milan, he became a member of our Solferino Church, and soon began to exercise his by no means ordinary gifts in connexion with our services. He had the voice, figure, and style of the orator, and fulfilled up to a ripe old age a useful ministry in our northern churches.

There was an evangelist, too—a layman—who bore the illustrious name of Alighieri, and boasted descent from Dante, from whose family name his own differed by but a letter. He was an exile from Venice, and had a story to tell of secret relations between patriots on the one side and on the other of the iron girdle of the Quadrilateral, of discovery and arrest, of trial and escape, which held one entranced by the hour. His conversion involved the cutting off of right-hand offences, but he stood the test and promised to become a good and faithful servant, when life and promise were terminated prematurely by a fatal accident on the Lake Maggiore.

A more important accession to our ranks at this time was that of Francesco Sciarelli, a young Franciscan monk from Chieti, in the Abruzzi. He had served in the company of volunteer ecclesiastics who had followed Garibaldi in the Neapolitan campaign, but had returned to his convent. His brief respiration of the air of freedom and light that had come to him from the Word of God and from contact with a neighbouring Protestant Minister had made the old life intolerable. From an appeal to me at Milan resulted a correspondence which revealed a man of no ordinary gifts and culture, and a soul as sincere now in its desire of consecration to the better understood Gospel of Christ as it had been in its former consecration to the ascetic life of the monk. After a few months' instruction in Milan, and a brief period of preliminary service at Parma, Francesco Sciarelli joined Mr. Jones at Naples, and to his zeal and activity was largely due the very successful initiation of the Mission in that city.

So runs the account of the earlier Evangelists. It must be confessed that if this succession be maintained the future of the Methodist Church in Italy is bright indeed.

The year 1863 found Piggott at Milan, whither also came for a few months the Rev. Thomas William Smith Jones, who had been sent to fill the place left vacant by the return of Richard Green to England. Mr. Jones presently went on to Naples, to make that city the centre of the southern extension of the Mission. In the south of Italy at that time the peasantry all over the country and the mass of the lower orders in the great towns were sunk into a depth of ignorance,

superstition, brigandage, and vice little above the condition of mere pagan savagery. But the cultivated classes in the great centres, like Naples and Palermo, had been among the foremost, both in action and suffering, in the long struggle from which the New Italy had emerged. Nowhere had the Church of Rome been more rent and discomfited. Some three hundred priests had left its ranks and were crying out for light and help. In the Garibaldi campaign of 1860 a whole company of ecclesiastics, priests, monks, and seminarists had borne arms under the command of one of their own order.

'In connexion with this fact may be mentioned an interesting incident which occurred some years after in one of our Church meetings in Rome. Two Italian Methodist Ministers, bearing well-known names, Francesco Sciarelli and Giuseppe Moreno, were present and took part in the service. Moreno was led to give reminiscences of his past life, and told how he had followed Father Proto—the priest-captain above mentioned—in the war of independence, and how one evening, wandering about the encampment, he had entered the tent of a young monk, how they had read the New Testament together, and how, at the request of his companion, he had left the sacred book in his hands. Then up sprang Sciarelli. "You, Moreno, you the priest who left me that New Testament, which I have kept and prized ever since?" Then followed kisses and embraces such as Italians give and take in the effusion of their hearts, while there were not many dry eyes in the assembly.'

Both in Milan and in Naples the work took root, and branched out into other parts of the field. In Milan a preaching-hall was obtained, greatly to the convenience of the evangelists. The two first districts in the north, beyond what may be called the Milan Circuit, to be occupied by the Mission were the shores of Lake Maggiore, where Cornish miners were at work, with Intra for a centre, and the city and province of Parma. In Naples an admirable situation was found in the centre of the central street of the city, and preaching-services, with Sunday and day schools, soon began to exert a wide-spread influence. Santa Maria Capua, to the north, and Salerno, to the south, were also early off-shoots of the work. With these as centres Circuits were formed, and as village work has continued to be one important element of the Italian Mission it may be well to give a sample of the way in which

in those days the country places were opened to the heralds of the Gospel. The account is taken from Mr. Piggott's Memorandum :

> Mezzano Inferiore is a long straggling line of peasants' houses standing in the midst of their vineyards and fields of Indian corn, with a central square in which the village church uplifts its belfry-tower. It is situated near the banks of the Po, some fifteen miles distant from the provincial capital of Parma. The fame of the new Gospel preaching in Parma, contact in the city market with those who had heard the Word, an occasional visit of a colporteur with copies of the Holy Scriptures, combined with much coincident discontent with the parish priest, brought a large deputation from the place to Francesco Sciarelli, who was at that time conducting services at Parma, inviting him to come and proclaim at Mezzano Inferiore also this purer and freer religion of Christ. Sciarelli was only too glad to accept the invitation. He was met by the civic band on the confines of the village, and conducted in triumph to the central square, where from a balcony, under the very shadow of the Roman Catholic church, through the long day to the entire population he preached the Gospel of the grace of God. The result was the establishment in Mezzano of a Mission so flourishing that the place became known as 'the Protestant village.' The institution of a day school soon followed ; for in those times, and indeed widely over Italy to the present day, in the country villages the elementary education of the peasantry is so controlled by priests and nuns that the only guarantee of permanence for an evangelical Church lies in the establishment in connexion with it of secular schools under evangelical teachers. In Mezzano the Methodist school became, *par excellence*, the school of the village. Only the other day a Mezzanese affirmed, in a letter that fell under my eyes, that every man and woman of any pretensions to culture in the village had been a scholar in the Protestant school.

Giuseppe Moreno, whom we have already mentioned, was sent to minister to the people of Mezzano. He had been a parish priest in a village in Sicily, but at an Evangelical Conference held in Palermo the light broke into his heart, and he found peace through believing. Piggott speaks of him as 'a great gift to the Church, always beloved, faithful, and efficient.' He afterwards served in some of the most important Circuits.

'The centre of the northern Mission remained at Milan until the year 1866. In that year war broke out between Prussia and Austria for the supremacy of Germany. Italy allied herself with Prussia under the promise that in case of victory Venice should be hers. Italy's part in the war was disastrous ;

she was defeated by land at Custoza, and by sea at Lissa. But no slur rested on her valour or fidelity. She was indeed the predestined victim to the enormous strength of the Austrian Quadrilateral, and sacrificed herself heroically with the view of detaining in Italy a large portion of the enemy's troops, and so facilitating the crushing victory of the Prussians at Sadova. She received the reward of her fidelity, and in December, 1866, Victor Emanuel made his triumphant entry into the city of the lagoon amidst a delirium of joy on the part of the people. Italy, united Italy, now stretched from the Western Alps to the Adriatic. This historical event had important effects upon our work. Restricted finances at home had compelled the reduction of the grant to Italy by nearly a third; and, as Milan and Lombardy generally were fairly well provided with evangelical agencies, it was decided to move from those districts to the newly emancipated territory. Padua was fixed upon as the new centre. It was altogether unoccupied, as was the surrounding province. It was, moreover, the University of the Venetian Province, and under the new régime was likely to become more and more its intellectual centre. To Padua was also removed the school for girls which had been started at Milan.'

Mr. Piggott, with the sympathy of a scholar, and with the insight which his study of the situation in Italy had given him, was always a strong advocate for educational work in Italian Missions, and in an important section of his Memorandum he discusses the attempt at Padua:

> The secondary education of girls had been altogether unprovided for under the Austrian régime. Public schools existed both in Lombardy and Venice in fair number and efficiency for the primary education of both sexes, and for the more advanced instruction, both technical and classical, of boys and young men, up to the University. But female education, beyond the four primary classes, had been left altogether to private enterprise, with the twofold result that it had fallen largely into the hands of nuns, and that even such as existed attached far more importance to needlework and embroidery than to intellectual training and instruction. These considerations led to the opening of a school for girls in Milan soon after our arrival there. Miss Grafton, the first English Principal, shortly after her arrival married the Rev. T. W. S. Jones and removed to Naples, but her place was promptly taken, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary, by Miss Annie Hay, the daughter of the Rev. David Hay.
>
> The school made little progress in Milan, but on its transferment

to Padua it took rapid root, and greatly flourished. It met a great need, not only in that city, but in the whole of the Venetian Province. Under the designation of 'the Evangelical International Institute' it soon attracted the attention of the notables of the city. From these came a deputation requesting that its advantages should be extended also to boys. The union of boys and girls in an educational institution was a thing unprecedented, not in Venetia only but in Italy at large, and was considered by many not only a novelty but a perilous novelty. But by the generosity of the Missionary Committee a house was acquired, so large and with such commodious grounds and back-premises that a large number of children of both sexes, boarders and day-scholars, were accommodated without any inconvenient intermingling. Not a few families in England and Switzerland took advantage of the institution. The wife of the last President of the Swiss Republic was trained there. Professors in the Padua University, distinguished medical men, influential merchants and landowners of the city and neighbourhood, consigned their children to our care. Several future wives of Italian Ministers were educated there for a long and useful service. The International Evangelical Institute stood for several years avowedly at the head of the secondary education of the city and province. It continued to flourish under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Durley for some years after the transferment of Henry Piggott to Rome, and there is no fact in the history of the Mission that he regrets more than its closure. But its fruits remain to this day scattered far and wide, and richly, throughout Italy and in other lands.

The fact is that the success of the schools at Spezia, of which we shall hear presently, made against its continuance, for the need of financial retrenchment made it difficult to finance both institutions, and when the Padua school was closed on account of an outbreak of illness it was never reopened, greatly to the loss of the Italian Mission.

In the annual Report of 1868 Piggott concludes with words which show the depth of his conviction :

My six years' experience of Italian work has forced upon me the strong conviction—nor am I alone in it; such men as De Sanctis, Gavazzi, Feretti, preach it everywhere and to everybody—the conviction that the great work to which all who seek the spiritual good of Italy should devote thought, and money, and labour, is the evangelical education of the young; and if we do not educate religiously, I fear that very soon there will be no such thing as religious education in Italy at all. Tremendous blows have been struck at the old priestly monopoly of education; on all sides the idea is gaining ground that no positive religion should be inculcated upon children until they are old enough to think and judge for themselves; and what such a course

must lead to, how suicidal it is of all national virtue and greatness, universal history testifies.

The financial burden resting upon Henry Piggott during those early days of the Italian Mission was excessive. It is grievous to recall that at the time when the flush of a new national life had made the people peculiarly ready to listen to the Gospel of freedom, of truth, and of life, and when, too, in the providence of God the Methodist Church had a Missionary of such commanding influence, and of such unquestioned devotion, placed in the very centre of the amazing ferment, it should have crippled him as it did by bringing upon him this incessant anxiety of finance. If the Church at home had shared his insight and his spirit of sacrifice, it would have set him entirely free from the worry of building operations and of considerations of money, and have allowed his influence the fullest scope. If that had been done, the harvest from the field of Italy might have passed all measures of human estimation. At the Missionary anniversary of 1864 Mr. Piggott gave an account of his stewardship; and, when the difficulty of the field is taken into account, it is safe to say that no results from the many and varied fields of Methodist enterprise could compare with that which he reported as the result of the work of three short years. Some account of the calibre of his co-workers has already been given in these pages. The cases mentioned might have been multiplied many times, and Piggott was continually receiving offers of service from priests of the Romish Church who had broken away from their bonds, and were ready to take up a Protestant ministry. These were, as Piggott shows, men of no mean or meagre qualification. Scholars of distinction, speakers able to move multitudes, men who had proved the sincerity of their conviction by accepting beggary rather than be false to conscience, with hearts aflame with passionate love for their country—what a 'Native Ministry' might not Henry Piggott have trained! But, as in other instances, the Church hung back. It could not read 'the signs of the times,' and the greatest opportunity ever given to the Methodist Church on the continent of Europe passed away. Some few there were who saw, and helped. Some little respite was given to the impending blow of retrenchment, but in the year which followed that consummate justification of the work in Italy the Committee informed

Piggott that the Mission must be reduced in 1866, and that he must make his arrangements with that in view.[1]

Hitherto we have said little of the work being done in the southern District under the care of Mr. Jones. It was not until 1864 that Naples appeared in the stations at all, and while it was reported that, as in the rest of Italy, Catholicism was losing its hold upon the conscience, and religious toleration was gaining ground, there was as yet no marked accession to the Church. The first numerical statistics appear in the Report of 1868, in which year 67 members were returned from Naples. Two years before this what was known as 'the Barletta Massacre' occurred, and it reveals the extent to which the mob was prepared to go when infuriated and led by the priests. Barletta is a small town not very far from Naples. On March 19, 1866, a crowd, excited to frenzy by a Popish preacher, and led by priests carrying a large crucifix, rushed through the streets shouting 'Death to the Protestants.' Houses were burned, and six persons were done to death in the most barbarous manner. The Methodist Minister escaped by the skin of his teeth. The outbreak was condemned in the Press and in Parliament. About a hundred persons were arrested, and for some time after the authorities sought to protect the Protestants. Of the association of Francesco Sciarelli with Mr. Jones we have already written.

If the more remarkable advance is to be found in the northern District it must always be remembered that the two fields were very different. In the south the soil was incomparably harder. The revolt against the Papacy was far more pronounced in the industrial centres of the north than it was where the power of the priest continued to dominate the situation, and Mr. Jones did not possess the special gifts which gave to Mr. Piggott his unique influence both within and without the Church. Nevertheless he staunchly upheld the cause with which he had been entrusted, and the more rapid development in the south which followed his retirement would not have been possible if the base in Naples had been less strongly held. Of Mr. Jones' great contribution to the Methodist—and, indeed, to the Protestant—cause we shall write later on. His administration was certainly expensive, but it is to be questioned whether it was more so than the

[1] See *Life and Letters of H. J. Piggott*, pp. 239–242.

circumstances demanded, and the work in the northern District might have been far more fully developed if adequate financial support from home had been forthcoming. In spite of the limitations imposed upon the work done in the southern District it is noteworthy that at the time when this record closes—that is, in the Centenary year (1913)—the two centres in the whole of Italy which returned the largest aggregate of Church members were Aquila and Palermo, both of which belong to the southern District.

Questions of Church organization became prominent among Italian Protestants towards the close of the sixties. A serious division took place among the 'Plymouthists,' as a result of which Dr. Luigi de Sanctis, their most prominent leader, joined the Waldensians. A large number of the 'Brethren,' led by Gavazzi, formed themselves into what was called 'The Free Italian Church,' and later on an attempt was made to unite with the Waldensian Church under the title of 'The Evangelical Italian Church.' This project failed, and after awhile what remained of the Free Church was absorbed in part by the American Methodist Episcopal Church and in part by our own. Among the Wesleyans it became necessary to define the status of the evangelists who were doing such good work in connexion with that Church. These wished to be recognized by the Conference as ordained Methodist Ministers, and Mr. Piggott felt that their claim was a just one, though he himself would have favoured some scheme for 'combining into a single, national organization all the agencies at work for the evangelization of the country.'[1] When there seemed to be no probability of this being brought about, the more denominational movement came to the front; and, during an official visit paid to Italy by the Revs. G. T. Perks and William Gibson in 1869, the Italian Ministers assembled in conference at Parma, and after each had given an account of his conversion and call to the ministry, the deputation from the Committee and Mr. Piggott gave them the right hand of fellowship in recognition of them, subject to the confirmation of the Annual Conference in England, as Methodist Ministers in Italy. Six of the Ministers thus recognized belonged to the northern District, and two to the southern.

[1] See *Life and Letters of Henry J. Piggott*, pp. 102 and 244.

From the year of this historic conference the annual meetings of the Ministers were recognized as District Synods; reports of them were sent to the General Secretaries; the four years' probation was established, and ordination by the laying on of hands followed the acceptance by the Annual Conference of those who had passed through it to the satisfaction of the Synod. Like the Waldensians and the Italian Evangelical Church, we also retained a class of workers, under the title of Evangelists, who labour under the direction of the ordained Ministers, and only by special licence of the President have authority to administer the Sacraments. The ranks of our Ministers may, however, be recruited from those amongst the Evangelists who give good proof of themselves as to gifts and graces in the lower position.

The work in both Districts continued to extend, and only the lack of adequate financial support prevented that extension from becoming widespread over the whole of Italy. A disused Catholic Church in Padua was secured for the purposes of the Mission.

'From Padua the work branched out to Vicenza, to Rovigo, to Bassano, and to Bologna, and everywhere interest was aroused and congregations were gathered together. The town of Vicenza has been noted, ever since the days of the Reformation, for its interest in religious questions. Even latterly, as the residence of the famous Fogazzaro, author of the well-known novel, *The Saint*, it has been to the front in the Italian modernist movement. Our earliest work there, so long as it was confined to simple evangelization, met with great sympathy and success; but as soon as an attempt was made to concrete its results into a Church a great storm of persecution broke out. Every family that had given in its name, without a single exception, was driven from the place, from sheer inability to find employment and daily bread. One poor fellow kept a stall in one of the market squares, and day after day the priest of the parish paced to and fro in front of it, warning off all customers from the excommunicated heretic, till he also had to emigrate. More than once in subsequent years similar attempts in Vicenza produced precisely the same results, but now at last we have noble premises there, the property of the Mission, and the work is taking root, and even spreading to adjacent villages.'

'New Italian Ministers entered the service of the Church. Giacomo Roland, for some twenty years Minister of our Church in Bologna, came from the Waldensian valleys. Gaetano Zocco, who had graduated as Doctor of Medicine in an Italian University, and in an evangelical service in Naples had found the truth in Jesus, commenced during Piggott's ministry in Padua his long, intelligent, and faithful ministry. Alberigo Bossi, a young lawyer-student, a member of a Bible-class in Milan, also entered the ministry, and fulfilled a worthy vocation. His son Luigi afterwards became our Minister at Milan. But perhaps the most important accession to the Mission in those days was in connexion with Mr. Jones' work in Naples. In the recent war of independence priestly orators had played a conspicuous part. Rome and the north had had Alessandro Gavazzi and Ugo Bassi—both historic names. In the south the patriot orator had been Salvatore Ragghianti, better known as Father Gabrielle of Viareggio. As a preacher in the Church he had drawn enthusiastic crowds. During the national struggle he had donned the Garibaldian red shirt, and thus attired, had harangued applauding crowds both in city squares and in sacred edifices, giving thus to the political movement the consecration of religion. After the triumph of the national cause he had with noble self-effacement withdrawn from public view, and, being excommunicated by the Church, gained a meagre maintenance as proof-corrector in a printing-office. Mr. Jones found him out, brought to him the fuller light of the truth, and passed him into the ranks of our Italian ministry. Till the infirmities of age laid him aside, his popularity and genuine pulpit power rendered great service to the work in Naples, especially after the erection of the new church.'[1]

'During the seventies the strengthening and expansion of the work in the south continued from year to year, and new stations appeared in the *Minutes*. Capri, Santa Maria (better recognized under its former name, Capua), and Brindisi in Italy, with Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse in Sicily, are all names of historical interest, and in each of these our agents were able to enter and to begin work. A staff of able men gathered round Mr. Jones. Mention has already been made of some of the earliest of these. Others who came later were

[1] This good and faithful servant of Christ passed to his reward on March 2, 1892.

Pietro Taglialatela and Ferdinando Reali, both of whom were professors in Italian colleges of higher education before joining our ranks. The former was distinctly a genius, both in originality of thought and vigour of utterance. Later on he passed over to the American Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he still survives, an honoured veteran. Noteworthy names, too, are those of De Sanctis, Carile, Saverio Fera, and Giacomo Manocchi, the last two still in the field, and at the head of important churches, the one at Florence and the other at Palermo. Under such evangelists the Gospel was carried far into the mountainous Abruzzi, with a centre in Aquila, at the foot of the Gran Sasso, into the heart of Calabria radiating from the provincial capital of Cosenza, and over the straits into Sicily. Important also was the service rendered by Mr. Jones to our work throughout Italy in the sphere of sacred song. Himself gifted both in ear and voice, he had providentially fallen in with two helpers aptly qualified to take part in such a contribution. Michele De Pretoro, if not himself a poet, showed no little skill in turning into melodious Italian those hymns of our Methodist hymn-book which have been most efficacious in voicing the experience of the Class-meeting, and in accompanying the appeal of the evangelist. And in Signor Festa, a teacher of singing long established in Naples and player of the harmonium in our preaching-hall, Mr. Jones discovered a true genius for the wedding of those hymns to distinctive and original Italian airs. The boon conferred by this great Italian composer on the sacred evangelical song of Italy for all time can scarcely be exaggerated. Mr. Jones' book of hymns and tunes appeared just before the occupation of Rome in 1870; it formed a grand accompaniment to our work of evangelization all over the country, and though several similar productions have since been published, by the Waldensian, our own, and other Missions, there is much in Mr. Jones' early contribution, especially in the matter of tunes, which never has been superseded, and never will be.'

At the beginning of the decade the membership returns for the two Districts were in the north 471 and in the south 165; at its close the numbers were 789 and 585, with a large number on trial for admission to full membership. This was a notable result of ten years' work in a country which was the very centre and seat of the Romish Church, and the spirit

of consecration to the service of Christ in those who had proved in their own experience the truth of the simpler faith they had accepted left little to be desired. But Henry Piggott reveals in himself the spirit which seeks most of all for explicit indications of the power of God in the souls of men, when in the Memorandum of which such constant use has been made in these records he says :

> Reading over what I have written, I feel that it reveals the great spiritual lacuna that I have always felt, with deep humiliation before God, to exist in our Italian Mission. It is found, I fear, throughout the entire work of Italian evangelization. I allude to the absence of those times of powerful religious awakening, of special effusions of the Spirit of God, recounted in the story of other Missions. It would seem as if to Italy the day of Pentecost were not yet fully come. Perhaps a partial cause may be found in the fact that converts esteem themselves already Christians, and have had indeed a certain 'confidence towards God,' through the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, before throwing off its errors, and embracing the more spiritual faith of the Gospel. The best of them—especially among our Ministers and evangelists—have led moral lives under the restraints of their former faith. Certain it is that penitence, deep and sorrowful conviction of sin, the tears and groans of a burdened conscience, are an experience too rarely seen in our Churches. In this narrative of events a disquisition as to causes would be out of place, but the fact should be noted.

Perhaps the most noteworthy event of the decade was the building in both Rome and Naples of the two commodious and altogether suitable churches, made possible in these two cities through the munificent gifts of Messrs. Thomas Fernley and James Heald. The church in Naples was opened in 1874, and that in Rome in 1877. These two central buildings gave to our Methodist Church in Italy a sense of stability, and an opportunity for more extensive development, which bore splendid fruit in the years which followed. In mentioning this addition to the facilities of the Mission we have somewhat anticipated the order of events, and to account for the appearance of our Methodist Church in Rome we shall revert to Mr. Piggott's lucid and most instructive Memorandum.

> In 1870 occurred the last act in the great providential drama of Italian unification. In 1861, on the opening of the first Italian Parliament in Turin, Cavour, by a master-stroke of policy, in order to allay foreseeable jealousies between ancient ex-capitals, procured from the

Assembly a vote by acclamation proclaiming Rome the capital of the completed Italy of the future. To all human prevision the proclamation seemed, at the time, that of a sheer impossibility. All negotiations with the Vatican broke to pieces before the hard wall of the Jesuit policy—wise in its generation—of no compromise; 'to yield an inch was to yield all!' French troops garrisoned Rome, and it was all Napoleon's tottering throne was worth to move them. One attempt had been made in 1867, when, on condition that the Italian capital were removed in pledge of permanency to Florence, the Emperor promised to withdraw. But the rash rush of Garibaldi into the territory of the Church ended in the rapid return of the already embarking troops and the terrible tragedy of Montana. The position seemed more hopeless than ever. The French Prime Minister uttered in the Chamber of Deputies his celebrated '*Jamais!*' Pius IX. summoned more than three hundred bishops to Rome, who proclaimed the temporal power indispensable to the religious supremacy of the Pontiffs, lifting it up very close to the position of infallible dogma. Then in 1869 and 1870 came the great Ecumenical Council, but with it the Divine nemesis. On the very day on which, in front of St. Peter's window, whose light was to have fallen on the Papal brow but was unfortunately veiled by a thunder-cloud, Pope Pius IX proclaimed the new dogma (sadly confused in terms) of the Papal infallibility—on that very day the declaration of war between Germany and France sealed his doom as temporal king. After the disasters of Worth and Metz the French troops of necessity vacated Rome; and on September 20 the Italians entered, amidst the exultation of all the Romans, by the breach of Porta Pia. A barrow full of Bibles, drawn by a noble Newfoundland dog, guided by a colporteur of the Bible Society, crossed the fallen walls in the wake of the troops—symbolical of the new era then dawning on the city and on the Papal States.

The pioneer of our Methodist Mission in the emancipated city was Francesco Sciarelli. He was removed thither from Naples in 1871, and right nobly initiated the work. The preaching-hall was a ground floor, not over large, in a back street, called Via Barbera, but the position was central. Sciarelli's attractive preaching soon made the room too small, and when I visited Rome later on in the year (having been in England during the memorable crisis of the entrance of the Italians) I found a nucleus of some 25 members, well drilled in attendance at the Class-meetings and in payment of their weekly pence, and adorning the doctrine of Christ both in walk and testimony. That back-street room was soon made famous by two memorable events. The one was the explosion of a bomb in the doorway one Sunday morning just before the assembly broke up. Providentially no harm was done to life or limb, but the doors and framework of the porch were shattered, for the instrument was of iron, and had it caught the audience in the act of retiring, as was no doubt the intention of the miscreants who located it, the consequences would have been very serious. The authors of the murderous attempt were never discovered.

The other event was perhaps unique in the history of the Papacy.

Sciarelli had announced a conference on the subject of St. Peter's assumed episcopacy in Rome. Three well-known Romish priests, cultivated men, and by no means illiberal, made their appearance in the preaching-hall, and challenged the lecturer to a public discussion of his theme. So certain did victory seem on such an argument that not only was permission obtained from the Vatican for the discussion itself, but every means was adopted to give it solemnity and diffusion. The two Chairmen on the Papal side were Prince Chigi, the Marshal of the Conclave, and the great Papal advocate known as the *Advocatus Diaboli*, whose office it is to argue against the claims of all candidates for canonization. The Chairmen on the Protestant side were the Rev. Dr. Philip and myself. The place selected for the discussion was the large hall of a celebrated academy. Admission was to be by ticket, 150 to be distributed on either side. Reporters on each side were to be admitted, and the report was to be printed with attestation to its exactness on the part of all the chairmen. The discussion extended over two evenings; every seat was occupied, with, on the Papal side, but one of the gentler sex. The speakers for the Catholic view were the three challengers; those for the Protestant were Sciarelli, Pastor Ribetti, of the Waldensian Church, and Alessandro Gavazzi.

As to the results, perhaps the following facts may be taken in evidence. An edition of the report was to be printed by each party; but while the Protestant edition was sold by hawkers all over the city, of the Catholic edition not a copy appeared, neither in stall nor in shop window, and a solemn ordinance was signed by the Vatican, prohibiting for all time any similar discussion.

In the spring of 1872 the head quarters of the Mission were definitely transferred from Padua to Rome. There followed years of considerable expansion, both in the northern and southern Mission. One of the most remarkable instances of development was to be found in Spezia. Spezia is the great arsenal of Italy. In its noble gulf all the navies in the world could deploy; yet it is said that the stoutest ironclad could not cover its entrance with hostile intent without being blown to pieces. The workmen and employés in the arsenal are counted by thousands. They come from all parts of Italy, and have therefore broken with old parochial ties and have formed no new ones.

Here, then, was a vast and important field all open to the sower. Very early in our Mission history we took over in Spezia—at that time not one-fourth of its present magnitude—a goodly nucleus of evangelical Christians, forming one of the Plymouthist Brotherhoods. Then a small day school was opened under a single teacher. But the demand on the

part of the artisans for an education that gave guarantees of moral influence, yet was not under Papal domination, was so widespread, that the need and opportunity of a larger provision was soon evident.

The schools rapidly became furnished with a staff adequate to all the requirements of a complete primary education, both for boys and girls. At first we were on hired premises ; then early in the seventies, by the liberality of the Committee, in a building of our own, in an excellent central position, at first incomplete, but some years afterwards carried to completion, with accommodation for some three hundred scholars. Our Spezia schools have stood for years, and stand to-day, without rival among the elementary evangelical schools of Italy. They have grown steadily, and are growing still in number, in efficiency, in moral and religious influence, and in progress towards self-support. It would be difficult to exaggerate the amount of fruit they have borne, through nearly two generations, in the artisan and middle-class population of this important and ever-growing centre. One significant indication of the testimony borne to them by Government inspectors may be found in the fact that three of our Ministers, for their services in the direction of the schools, have been honoured with the decoration of Chevaliers of the Crown of Italy. Between 1870 and 1880 the membership of the Church in Spezia increased from 30 to 93.

Another most important work brought into association with our Mission during those early Roman years was that of Luigi Capellini among the Italian soldiers. It may well follow the mention of Spezia, inasmuch as Capellini was a Spezia lad. His conversion, however, took place in the army and during the sixties. The story has often been told how, when he was on duty on the bastions of a fortified Italian town, a gust of wind blew to his feet a few torn pages of one of the Gospels. This sip from the cup of life excited in him a burning thirst for more. He found out the colporteur, procured a copy of the Holy Scriptures, read, meditated, found his Saviour, and there and then dedicated himself to Christian service among his fellow soldiers. We are told how, employed in chase of the brigands then infesting the south, he used every morning before leaving on this perilous service to gather his company together for reading the word of God and prayer.

In the war of 1866 an almost miraculous recovery from cholera deepened in him the impression of a Divine call, and when his term in the ranks ended he returned to his native Spezia and initiated in the garrison that Mission which was to be the work of his life. For some months he was a student at Padua under Mr. Piggott, and every Sabbath morning during his residence there he managed to march into the preaching-hall a small troop of men 'fished' out from the garrison. As soon as Rome was open he was off thither, entirely 'on his own.' When he had exhausted his resources he found a helper in the American Anglican clergyman, and subsequently in Dr. Vernon, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. On Mr. Piggott's arrival in Rome he found him installed in a hall near the Capitol, with evening classes for non-commissioned officers and a congregation of from fifty to sixty men. The work soon entered upon that association with our Mission which it maintained up to the time of Capellini's lamented death.[1] His converted soldiers were never numbered in the statistics of our members. On returning to their homes they were recommended to the Minister of the nearest evangelical Church. But Capellini himself was one of our recognized Ministers, subject to our discipline, and a member of our Synod, and the services and various activities of our Soldiers' Mission were always conducted on our Mission premises.

One fact will give some idea of what Capellini's work meant in difficulties overcome, in extent, and in fruit produced. During all the twenty-five years of his devoted toil the Roman garrison, which was his special field of labour, cleared out every year, and was replaced by new regiments. Yet on the opening day of the new year's work there never failed to gather in the rooms of the Mission some thirty or forty non-commissioned officers, newly gathered into the evening classes, and in the preaching-hall a congregation of some fifty new men. At the end of the summer, when the garrison left for the autumn manœuvres, rarely fewer than fifty gathered round the communion table. Then, filing out of the Church, after partaking of the sacred pledges, each one of the fifty received his copy of the Holy Scriptures—gifts of an English lady—to be carried with him to camp, or fortress, or home, according

[1] The Rev. Luigi Capellini 'went home to God' in 1898.

as his term of service continued or was ended. If it be asked, whence came this annual new supply? the answer lies in the toil of the hot summer months, during which the indefatigable evangelist, having had secret information as to the regiments that were to furnish the Roman garrison for the coming year, set himself on their track, with colporteur, Biblical portions, evangelical tracts; generally in manœuvres, encampments, and in sham-fights, under the burning sun; and this until every man in those regiments had in his hands the address of the Mission and an urgent appeal to come and see and hear for himself.

It may be noted that the Capellini Mission was not our only link of connexion with the soldiers of Italy. Soon after Piggott's arrival in Milan a young lad entered his service as a sort of errand-boy. Though only fifteen years of age, Gaetano Barbieri had already served as a volunteer under Garibaldi, and had been in the thick of the fight on the great day of the *Volturno*. He always maintained that he was the youngest of all the patriots that were in arms on that day. Subsequently he became an evangelist, but always kept by him his Garibaldian red shirt, and wore it on patriotic occasions. When the war broke out between Austria and the Allied Powers of Prussia and Italy in 1866 he joined the ambulance of Garibaldi's volunteers, and ministered to many a wounded and dying soldier in the fights of that brief but bloody campaign. He was subsequently instrumental in the conversion of the young sergeant, Gervasi, whose adventures in Italy's Ethiopian disasters and splendid services among the Simplon navvies, and whose tragic end, will never be forgotten.[1]

Mr. Piggott gives an account of village evangelization in two centres, which may be taken as typical of the way in which the work spread in the villages of Italy during the later years of the nineteenth century:

> In a hollow spur of the Alps, some four miles north-west of Lake Maggiore, lies a cluster of houses forming the hamlet of Montorfano. The men of the place are all of them hewers of the granite of which the mountain hard by is built up. From this same granite formation

[1] There is a fine appreciation, by Mr. Piggott, of Gervasi in *Work and Workers* for 1903, p. 470. This most worthy Italian Minister, of whom Mr Piggott says, 'To me his death is as the loss of a son,' suffered a heart-attack while bathing in Lake Maggiore, and was drowned

the columns of the Pantheon were floated down to Rome in the days of Augustus, and in our own day the magnificent interior and façade of St. Paul-outside-the-Walls are debtors to the same mountain for their rows of multitudinous pillars. The villagers of Montorfano did not number more than two hundred men, women, and children all told. They possessed, however, an ancient church, declared a national monument for its great antiquity, and its structure—so rare in the south of Europe—of Norman-Gothic. The natives of the hamlet were dependent for their religious services on the priest of the neighbouring town of Mergozzo, and he, for some question of fees, had ceased to visit them. For this reason, and for some knowledge of the Gospel attained through the visits of a Bible Society colporteur, the men of the village came down in a body to Intra and began to attend the services there. Some of them were what we should call in England 'churchwardens,' and they believed that they had the right to dispose of their now disused church. The mayor (syndic) of Mergozzo, under whose jurisdiction they were, was also at that time broadly liberal. The issue was an official visit of the President of the District to Montorfano to meet the syndic, the churchwardens, and the Minister of Intra, and to receive amidst the acclamations of the entire village the formal consignment of the ancient edifice for the use and purpose of evangelical worship.

For three years we occupied the building; an Evangelist was planted in the village, day and Sunday schools were established, and with two solitary exceptions all the inhabitants declared themselves Protestant evangelicals. But at the end of the three years a new Bishop was installed in the Diocese of Novara, in which Montorfano is included. He was of noble family, wealthy, and, from the first, determined to wrest the building from the hands of the heretics. Lengthy and strenuous legal proceedings ensued. In the lower local court we carried our cause. But meanwhile the liberal syndic, under threat, had passed over to the other side, and in the Court of Appeal, though an impartial public applauded as triumphant the arguments of our advocate—one of the glories of the Milanese Bar—the influence of the Bishop carried the day. It was indicative of the new attitude of the Government that the Minister of Public Worship, in spite of influential private appeal, refused to interpose, though he might have done so in perfect equity, as the question regarded a building declared to be a public monument, and so the property of the State. It was, however, a barren victory. The Bishop regained the edifice of stone and mortar, but not the living worshippers. When the facts became known, such sympathy was roused in the Protestant world that a new temple was erected, much in the style of the ancient structure, without debt, and without the cost of a penny to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

. . . . . .

Almost synchronous, and equally interesting, is the story of the planting of the Gospel in another Alpine village called Quarna, reached by a steep zigzag path from the more westerly Lake of Orta. The son

of the miller of the hamlet had migrated to America, and had there become a true and zealous convert to the Gospel of Christ. Compelled by failure of health to return to his native Alpine air, and having found there recruital, he commenced at once to preach to his fellow villagers the truths in which his own soul had found life and peace. Soon a room in the mill-house was set apart for the religious exercises of the little company thus gathered round him. Then broke out a violent storm of persecution. The summer came on, and the cattle had to be taken to better-watered pastures in the higher mountain valleys. Among the tenders of the beasts in one of these was a young woman who had embraced the Gospel. She was simply boycotted the whole summer; no one would speak with her, no one lend her a helping hand. In the hamlet itself the priest warned his parishioners against sending their corn to be ground at the heretical mill. The water that turned it was poisonous, and would certainly infect their flour. But by a singular coincidence, every other stream in the hamlet dried up, and the alternative was either the heretical mill or none. The perfectly wholesome flour it turned out much abated the terror of the priestly anathemas, while the staunch fidelity of the converts—such, for instance, as that of the poor boycotted girl cattle-tender—turned the current of feeling in their favour. All the facts recounted above had taken place without any communication with the outer world, but by and by a Bible Society colporteur, in the course of his peregrinations, turned up at Quarna. Great was the joy of the simple village believers to learn that hard by were companions in the faith. The colporteur's entire stock of Bibles and Biblical portions was bought up, and a copy of the Gospels sent to every inhabitant of the hamlet. Then came visits from the Intra Minister and shortly after from the President of the District, and the little mountain church of Quarna remains to this day a village station of the Wesleyan Mission.

One other development of the Mission we also take from the Memorandum:

The home and orphanage at Intra, which has grown to be so important a branch of the Mission, took its rise early in the eighties. The occasion which gathered together the first little nucleus of children reveals interesting features of our work. Several families who had embraced the Gospel were scattered over hamlets on the Alpine slopes north of Intra. Of these families the fathers were absent in the summer for months together in Switzerland, being sought, as Italians are sought all over the world, for the laying down of railway-lines and suchlike work. The mothers had at the same time to care for the cows and goats and little fields of the family, often at a great distance from the hamlets in which stood the cottage homes. Hence what to do with the children during these united absences became a great problem. There were nuns hard by who would, of course, have willingly taken them in charge, but that would have meant inevitable re-baptism by the Roman Catholic Church, with the unrelaxing grip always thence

deriving. It was found that not infrequently the poor bairns were left for hours tied to some article of furniture to keep them out of danger. It was to meet these cases that a first group of children was gathered into the house of an evangelist resident in Villa d'Ossola, at the foot of the mountain paths that branched upwards to the villages in question. Such a home once opened, its availableness also for poor evangelical orphans, in equal need and in equal peril, soon brought in appeals, and seemed to indicate providential guidance. Out of this germ grew the present Intra Orphanage, with its spacious premises, comprising day schools, workshops, and adjacent church, and giving lodgement and training to more than fifty children of both sexes. The institution has been of untold benefit in rescuing and preparing for independent and useful lives the destitute orphans of evangelical families, not of our own Church alone, but of the Italian evangelical community at large, and that during a period of more than thirty years.

. . . . . .

In connexion with this mention of our Mission premises at Intra, it may be well to note that during these years in other centres the very important object was secured of locating our work in *buildings of our own*. Nothing is more fatal to evangelistic work in Italy—and I presume the same would be true of all countries—than to be compelled to depend upon hired halls for the preaching services. Often nothing can be hired but a shop, with no light save from the entrance, and very frequently the congregation is bandied about from street to street at the caprice of the landlords' priest-ridden wives, till refuge has to be taken in some upper floor or lonely by-street, if indeed the whole town be not hermetically sealed to the evangelist. It was a great gain, therefore, that early in the period this story has now come down to, in addition to the settlements at Rome, Naples, Intra, and others already mentioned, the Mission was able to acquire properties of its own in the towns of Omegna, on the Lake of Orta, of Cremona and Piacenza in the north, of Aquila and Caserta in the south—these four all capitals of provinces—as well as in two or three of the villages in which the work has taken root.

In Henry Piggott's Memorandum there occurs a long and valuable account of the Pontificate of Pope Leo XIII, and this must appear in our pages *in extenso*, as throwing light not only upon the attitude of the Vatican in the closing years of the century, but also upon the resultant conditions under which the evangelical Churches in Italy had to work:

In 1878 occurred the death of Pope Pius IX, and the accession to the pontificate of Leo XIII. The event marked the opening of a new era in the modern history of the Papacy, and had considerable indirect influence on Italy as a field of evangelization. Pius IX had been no diplomatist. He left the Papacy at strife with almost all the political powers of Western civilization. This had been due in great measure

to the reaction in his own spirit against the political liberalism into the wake of which he had been drawn in the early years of his pontificate, with such disastrous consequences to himself and to the Church of which he was the head. In Germany the *Kulturkampf* was raging. France, Great Britain, and even Ireland, the United States, bigoted Spain and Portugal, were all, for some reason or other, offenders, and were being treated by him as such. Since the Catholic revival after the blows of the Reformation, the Papacy had never occupied so low a place at the political table of the Western powers. The breach with Italy still yawned wide and threatening. He could never forgive the New Nation its usurpation of his territory, his deposition from political kingship, and the personal humiliation he had suffered. And the New Nation could not forgive him the reactionary tyranny of his later rule, his subjection to the intransigent Jesuit policy, and his sheltering behind a murderous hedge of French *chassepots*. His fanatical belief in his own infallibility, subtly played upon by his Jesuit masters, led him to the actuation of measures within the Church itself which threw into trouble and consternation such faithful but moderate magnates as Dupanloup and Newman.

But the accession of Leo XIII brought about in this entire position of the Papacy little less than a revolution. Pius IX would appear to have had a prevision of such a result, should the votes of the Conclave fall upon Cardinal Pecci. This at all events is the explanation usually given of the steps he took shortly before his death of appointing the Cardinal to an office which, traditionally, was supposed to debar election to the pontificate. However this may be, the pre-eminent fitness of the man for the honours overbore any such arbitrary exclusion, and almost without competition the vote of an unusually rapid Conclave elevated Gioacchino Pecci, Cardinal Bishop of Perugia, to the vacant see. His qualities of character and training were the very opposite of those of his predecessor. Early in his ecclesiastical career he had been Papal Nuncio at Brussels, and for some years in that centre of European diplomacy he had acquired knowledge of the political world and tactical skill in adjusting thereto the relations of the Papal Church. His classical tastes and culture helped to give him a breadth of view to which Pius IX could make no pretension. His diocese of Perugia, one of the widest in Italy, touched Rome itself at one extremity, and at the other the provinces which the Revolution had wrested from Rome. In this difficult position he had won a widespread reputation, both in the pontifical and the Italian States, for tact and moderation and, more conjecturally, for a tendency to liberalism.

The new Pontiff soon disposed of the legacy of attrition and strife with the outside world which his predecessor had left him. His first act was to open communications with Bismarck, leading before long to an issue of the *Kulturkampf*, which was really a victory for the quiet tact of the Pontiff over the boisterous autocracy of the Chancellor. One by one the controversies with the other powers were settled ; even on Royalist France was imposed submission to the ' powers that be.' The result was the recovery by the Papacy of a prestige and authority

in Western politics which far more than compensated for the loss of mere territorial sovereignty. What all this was intended to lead to, in Leo XIII's relations to Italy, it is difficult to say. What happened was a grave outrage on the part of anti-clerical Rome, at the close of the first year of his pontificate, which turned his attitude ever thereafter towards new Italy into one of stubborn bitterness. On the occasion of the solemn transferment by night of the body of Pius IX, after the customary twelve months' repose in St. Peter's, to the permanent resting-place he had chosen in the Church of San Lorenzo, the large priest-hating element of the Roman populace broke loose. There had no doubt been foolish bravado on the part of the clericals; but the howls and hootings and scenes of actual violence which accompanied the sacred procession along the whole route were a disgrace to the city and nation. Nor was it possible to acquit the Government of a most culpable want of prevision, to say the least. The shameful scene seemed to eat its way into the very soul of Leo XIII. He never pardoned it. His attitude to the new State changed from that night. Henceforward it seemed as if he sought to raise the authority and prestige of the Papacy with other nations, only that he might isolate Italy, and one day be able to dictate terms to her.

All this new policy of the Pope told powerfully on the country as a field of Protestant evangelization. The recovered authority and influence of the Papacy in the councils of the Western world could not but have a corresponding effect on Italy itself. The Catholic Church in Italy began to reassert itself; it rallied its immense forces; it recovered from the staggering blows of the Revolution. Italian statesmen had to take it into larger account, to use conciliation, to be more chary of giving offence. Something of the spirit that had dictated the first article of the old Piedmontese Statute—the Magna Charta of the new Italy—revived; 'the Roman Catholic religion is *the religion of the State*; all other religions are tolerated.' The change was felt by all workers in the field, felt even when they did not formulate it to themselves, felt even by those who, perhaps, would have refused to acknowledge it. Those possibilities of a reformed Italy, of a revolution in the religious sphere correspondent with that in the political, which in those early days were in the air, to a sane mind would now have seemed nothing less than preposterous. We workers came to know and recognize that we had to deal with a colossal institution, rooted in the traditions of centuries, rooted also in the habits of religious thought and practice, which its doctrines and assumptions had been weaving from time immemorial—an object of national pride, too, for the position it conferred on Italy throughout the world, even to minds that had no belief in those doctrines and assumptions. And we came to see that our vocation and hope were not to repeat the religious revolutions of the sixteenth century, but to achieve results slower and more modest. And so our work has come to present itself to us, more and more, under the modest twofold aspect—first, of creating small centres of Christian life—true Churches of twos and threes, minute lamps of pure, living light all over the land, sufficiently numerous for

any individual soul whose spiritual needs can no longer find satisfaction in the Church of the country to find personal Christian fellowship in another; secondly, of shooting out rays of light into the great darkness beyond, fostering religious inquiry and unrest, undermining superstitions, shaking false security, getting people to read the simple Gospel story and apply it for themselves, in the hope that in God's good time and way the national conscience shall be so roused that to the Roman Catholic Church itself—in Italy at all events—there shall come to be but two alternatives, reformation from within or one more great national schism.

The above considerations tend to explain why, during the years that followed, the work took the character rather of consolidation, and of sporadic extension from existing centres, than that of the opening out of new ones.

Henry Piggott bore the full burden of the work in northern Italy without the comfort and relief which he might have found in an English colleague. It is true that Robert Foster was sent out to assist him, but the latter spent only four years in Italy. Two of these were spent in Rome and two in Florence, and at the close of the second period he was recalled to England, the Missionary Committee finding it impossible to finance the Italian work if he remained upon the staff in that field of service. Thus the burden had scarcely been lightened for Henry Piggott before its full weight again came upon him. The four years of Robert Foster's service in Italy were from 1877 to 1881. Piggott was ready to withdraw in face of the imperative need to retrench, and would have been well content to leave the superintendence to Foster, but not only did his colleagues, both in Italy and at Bishopsgate, strongly urge him not to do so, but Foster himself positively refused to take up the superintendency.

In 1894 and again in 1901 the Italian Districts were visited by the Rev. F. W. Macdonald as Secretary in charge of the Mission-field in Europe, and on each occasion the two Districts were represented in a United Synod. Conditions of life and work in the extreme north of the country differed considerably from those that obtained in Sicily or Calabria, and the Italian Ministers were in danger of missing the strength of a Connexional Church system, while obviously the sense of brotherhood in their service was to a certain extent limited when interchange of work took place only within the limits of the District. The Secretary was greatly impressed, as he well might be, with the intellectual force of the indigenous ministry

as well as with their devotion both to their Lord and to their Church. The second of these Secretarial visits marked a crisis in the history of the Methodist Church in Italy, and Mr. Macdonald was accompanied on this occasion by the Treasurer, Mr. Williamson Lamplough. That crisis was brought about by the proposed retirement of the two men who had for forty years administered the affairs of the two Districts. It was felt by the Committee that it would be of advantage to the work in Italy if the long-standing division into Districts were to cease, and the whole Italian field brought under the administration of a single Chairman and General Superintendent. Obviously the success of such a scheme depended upon the suitability of the Minister thus to be appointed, and that there might be ample time for making a wise choice the Committee requested both Mr. Piggott and Mr. Jones to retain their respective charges for another year. In 1902 the Rev. William Burgess became the General Superintendent of the two districts. Mr. Burgess had already administered the important District of Haidarabad, in India, and he was peculiarly fitted to take up the work to which he was now called. His power of organizing the work of a large District, his knowledge of life and of men, and his strong evangelical tone of mind, marked him out as being specially adapted to the service of the Church in Italy. Thus in 1902 the long and honourable administration of the Italian field by Henry Piggott came to a close. For forty years he had served in this field, in which he had been the pioneer of evangelical Protestantism and the consummate administrator of a Church which, under his care, continually increased in strength and influence. Sixteen years of life and of unfailing service still remained to him, and during that period his wealth of knowledge and of experience, accumulated by diligence and insight, were placed with complete loyalty at the service of his successor, but it was time for another to shoulder the burden he had carried unflinchingly for so long. It is far from easy to characterize his administration. The epithets commonly in use for such purposes seem utterly insufficient here. The combination of gifts and graces which he brought to the service appointed him was unique. He was a scholar and an evangelist. He had insight and imagination. His outlook upon the amazing world which opened before him in the operations of the Roman

Church and of the Italian State was wide and also searching, nor did it lack anything in sympathy with whatever was worthy in the one or in the other. A most loyal Methodist, he was truly catholic, and he never lost 'the childlike in the larger mind.' He had the great privilege and joy of raising and training an indigenous Protestant ministry in Italy of high intellectual attainment and of complete devotion to Christ, and to all its members he was both a father and a brother. When at last the call that comes to all came to him, he passed directly from the service upon earth to whatever form of service awaits those who in their busiest life have still maintained the reality of a direct communion with their Lord and Saviour. His monument is to be found in the Protestant witness in Italy, a witness which he did so much to formulate and enforce.

We have already referred to the various movements which led to the formation of the Free Evangelical Church of Italy. The ideal before that Church was the entirely laudable one of uniting all Protestant evangelical communions in one Church. This may yet come about, but the attempt made in the seventies was premature, and instead of leading to union it resulted in the further division of the very Church most eager to secure the wider communion. Part of the community thus divided approached the two Methodist Churches at work in Italy, the American Episcopal Church and the Wesleyans, and after some amount of negotiation it was decided that part of the work formerly done by the Evangelical Church should be taken over by the American and part by the British Methodists. In order to liquidate all debts outstanding their Church property in Rome was sold, and the two Methodist Churches divided the remaining stations between them, mutual concessions being made so that each Church might be able to concentrate, and thus avoid embarrassing its own organization. By this arrangement the British Methodists found themselves established in Florence, Milan, in the north, and in Palermo in Sicily, while they withdrew from Bologna and Reggio. In thus assuming responsibility for carrying on the work in the cities above named the Wesleyans found themselves in possession of valuable buildings, some of which had old ecclesiastical

associations, and the value of the property which thus passed over was estimated to be worth some £12,000. The living Church was also greatly strengthened by the incorporation of new and efficient workers. For legal purposes the Evangelical Free Church retained its corporate existence, being represented by its Ministers in Rome and in Florence, but the work was everywhere incorporated with that of the Wesleyan Church. The same year saw an increase in Church membership of nearly 300, half of these being formerly members of the Evangelical Free Church, and the other half consisting of converts from Romanism. This increase brought the total membership in Italy to above 2,000. The negotiations which led to this settlement were delicate, and Mr. Burgess thoroughly deserved the thanks which he received from his Synod for the wisdom and tact which he had shown in carrying the matter to a successful termination.

From this time the work continued to develop. Each year brought its quota of accessions, both from the Romish priesthood and from other classes of the population. In 1901 the Mission mourned the loss of two of the oldest and most valued Italian Ministers—Giuseppe Moreno and Alberigo Bossi—while a contemporary of theirs, Giacomo Roland, was rendered incapable of further service. All of these were workmen who needed not to be ashamed, and their staunch fidelity, in addition to intellectual gifts, had been of the greatest value to the Protestant cause in Italy. Others, however, came forward to fill the gaps in the line, young men of promise and of actual attainment. Few Mission-fields have the advantage which Italy possesses in the matter of recruiting for the ministry. Happily at the time of closing our record the administration of the Rev. William Burgess still continues, and it will be the work of some future historian to characterize that administration in detail. Let it suffice to say here that it has been marked with that breadth of view, that conviction of mind, and that infectious enthusiasm which Mr. Burgess has always brought to the work he had to do, whether that work was found in India or in Italy. In a private letter he makes a statement with which our survey of this field may well close :

> Italy is a hard field, and the difficulties I met with were ten times greater than anything that ever confronted me in India ; but if I

were a young man, I would prefer to throw myself into the battle here rather than anywhere else. It is here that the victories of the Cross will tell most on the world's welfare in the days to come.

TABLE OF STATISTICS.

| | 1867[1] | 1913 |
|---|---|---|
| Churches and other Preaching-places . . | 16 | 56 |
| Missionaries . . . . . | 2 | 2 |
| Italian Ministers . . . . . | 1 | 24 |
| Members (including those on trial) . . | 647 | 2,756 |
| Children in Sunday Schools . . . | 179 | 1,196 |
| Children in Day Schools . . . . | 592 | 749 |

[1] Returns of Church membership in Italy appear for the first time in the Report for this year,

# INDEX


A

Aapjee, Hans, 337
Aapjee's River, 334
Abantu people, 254, 277, 285
Abeokuta, 157, 158, 162, 210, 212, 218
Abomi, 159
Abruzzi, the, 498
Aburi district, 177; school for girls at, 183, 189
Accra, 147, 155, 162, 174, 189, 190
Adcock, Edward W., 107
Adcock, George, 107, 140
Ademuyiwa, Prince, 208, 220, 221
Adoption of mission children (India), 47
Affiliated Conferences, 97, 453
African Society, 74, 76
Agar, Alderman, 349
Aggery, John, 170
Ago, 220
Aigle, 451
Akitoye, King, 162
Aku Tribe, 88, 157. See *Yorubas*
Algoa Bay, 248
Albany Colony and Colonists, 248 ff
Alexandria, 417, 422, 423, 424
Aliwal North, 311
Allan, Thomas, 448
Allen, William, 157, 162
Allison, James, 267, 295, 296, 337, 339, 369
Alton, George, 428
Altona, 399
Amazulu Kafirs, 293
Amoxosa tribes, 248, 283, 286
American Bible Society, 425
Anaman, J. B., 148, 195 and *n*
Anamabu, 155, 173
Anecho, 232
Anglicans and Wesleyans on the foreign field, 78, 250*n*
Annear, Samuel, 94, 162
Annshaw, 282
Anta, James, 386
Antigua Synod and West Africa, 101
Anti-slavery movement, 74
Apollonia, 174, 200
Appelbe, R. F., 340, 344, 345, 350, 353
Appelbe, Mrs., tragic death of, 353
Appleyard, J. W., 257, 281
Aquila, 495, 498
Armatage, G., 144, 145
Armstrong, C. W., 197, 198, 199
Archbell, J., 245, 246, 261, 262, 266, 292
Armour, Andrew, 418
Arnett, Henri, 214, 217
Arthur, Mrs., 20
Arthur, William, 20, 452, 465, 477
Ashanti, 82, 148; war of 1873–1874, 169; aftermath of the war, 173; T. B. Freeman visits, 155, 156, 161, 191. See *Kumasi*
Ashanti Mission, 193
Ashanti princes, the, 154, 156, 167
Asin country, 176
Assagai River, 249
Atheism, in Portugal, 439; in Italy, 485
Augsburg, 467
Austria, 474. See *Vienna*
'Auxiliary Missionary Society' at Sierra Leone, 92
Axim, 200
Ayliff, John, 284, 288

B
'Baby Band,' 64
Badagry, 88, 158, 159, 160, 162
Badcock, John, 140, 141
Badger, Henry, 87, 88, 93, 134, 135, 136, 137
Badger, Mrs., 91, 136
Baeza, Mr., 137
Baker, H. J., 395, 396, 397, 406, 411, 412
Baker, John, 78, 79, 83, 121, 123
Balearic Islands, 417, 428, 432; outbreak of fanaticism in, 431
Ballanghar, 145
Balmer, Miss, 101
Balmer, Mrs., 114
Balmer, William T., 114, 115, 186, 187, 231
Bandajuma, 106, 110, 112, 113
Bangalore, 55, 57
Bantu language, 259
Baraputsi tribe, 296
Barawano tribe, 408
Barber, William, 419
Barberton, 350, 371
Barbieri, Gaetano, 504
Barcelona, 62, 427 ff
Barletta Massacre, 494
Barolong people, 260, 261, 310, 328, 335, 336, 366; mission to, 266, 267, 279, 344
Barra, 137, 139, 143
Barracunda, 126
Barratt, J. C., 465 ff
Barratt, W. O., 366
Bartholomew, James, 423
Barton, J. J., 436
Bartrop, A. T. R., 187, 193, 194, 196, 215, 218
Baskerville, Mrs., 18
Bassano, 496
Bassi, Ugo, 497
Basutoland, 266, 280, 310
Batchelor, Mrs. (née Twiddy), 20, 28
Bathurst (S. Africa), 253, 304
Bathurst (W. Africa), 119, 129, 137, 140, 144, 145
Baugh, George, 37
Bavaria, 468
Baxter, Mrs., 17
Bayreuth, 468
Beal, Miss Susannah G., 24
Beauchamp, Miss C. E., 36, 59, 62, 309
Bechuanaland, 243, 260; district, 280, 325, 331, 350; occupied by Boers, 344; British Protectorate established, 344, 380
Bechuana Mission, 265, 281, 282, 295
Beckwith, General, 482
Beecham, John, 86, 129, 152, 452, 456; his *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, 89*n*, 148*n*, 154
Bekwai, 178
Bell, William, 79, 124
Bembisa, 391, 397, 400
Bennett Hospital (Wuchang), 62
Benson, J. G., 337, 340, 350, 371
Bensonvale, 311, 319
Berinding, 137
Bernasko, Mr., 171, 172
Bethel, W. A., 193, 194
Bethlehem (O.F. State), 311
Beutenmüller, Ch., 467, 468
Bialloblotski, Dr., 423
Bible-women, 26, 27, 34, 36, 67
Bida, 204, 224
Bird, Mark B., 38
Bishop, H. L., 350
Black *v.* White in S. Africa, the problem discussed, 269 (cf. 405)
Black, Mrs. (Nova Scotia), 16
Blauberg, 367, 370
Blencowe, George, 294, 329, 330, 331, 368, 374
Blencowe, Mrs., 29
Bloemfontein, 280, 311
Bloemhof, 340
Boarding Schools, 24. See *Girls' Boarding Schools*
Boers, 291, 292, 310, 327–329, 339, 344; war of 1881, 332, — of 1899–1902, 354
Boetsap, 266
Bohemia, 468, 469
Boksburg, 342
Bologna, 477, 496, 512

Bond, John, 225, 226
Bondleswarts, 246, 247
Bondoo superstition, 95
Bonthe, 102, 104
Boomplaatz, 280
Bosio, Ferdinando, 487
Bossi, Alberigo, 497, 513
Bossi, Luigi, 497
Boucher, M., 450
Boulogne, 447
Bowen, Michael, 373, 382
Boyce, W. B., 249, 259, 271
Bracciforti, Ferdinando, 487
Bradford, Miss H., 46
Bremen, 462
Bridgart, John, 137
Bridge, Jabez, 107
Brigg, H. Oswald, 388, 391, 400, 411
Brindisi, 497
Briscoe, F. J., 341 and *n*, 350, 364
British and Foreign Bible Society, 130, 151, 184, 350, 425
British cruisers, good work by, 88
British South Africa Company, 346, 380. See *Chartered Company*
Broadbent, Stephen, 260, 261, 263, 335
Broken Hill Mine, 409
Brooking, Robert, 156, 161, 162
Brown, J. G. Wheatcroft, 430, 431, 432
Brown, Joseph, 77
Brown, J. P., 184
Brown, Samuel, and Mrs., 78, 97
Brown, W. T., 429
Brownlee, Charles, 286
Brownscombe, E., 214
Buenos Ayres, 420
Buluwayo, 383, 386, 388, 392, 395, 400, 402
Buntingville, 258, 271, 306, 319
Burgess, Arminius, 32
Burgess, W. Comber, 409, 410
Burgess, William, 51, 511, 513
Burghersdorp, 253, 311
Burnet, Amos, 356, 358, 361, 376
Burnet, Lilian, 365
Busby, Mrs., 17
Bushmen, 245, 254, 247
Butler, J., 408
Butscher, L., 78
Butterworth, 258, 271, 278, 281, 284, 287, 306, 319
Buxton Chapel (Sierra Leone), 92
Buxton, Thomas F., 273

C

Cadiz, 419, 420
Caen, 452
Calabria, 498
Calais, 447
Caledon district, 243; river, 266, 310
Calvert, James, 312, 331
Cameron, James, 267, 294
Cannell, William M., 183, 185
Cannstadt, 464, 466
Cap de Pera, 431, 433
Cape Coast Castle, 88, 151, 153, 157, 162, 176–8, 184, 188–90
Cape Colony Government, policy of, 284
Cape of Good Hope, 238, 239
Cape St. Mary's, 137, 139, 141
Cape Town, 239, 241, 260, 262, 289, 313 ff; district, 280, 314; statistics of, in 1883, 315
Capellini, Luigi, 502, 503
Capri, 497
Capua (Santa Maria), 489, 497
Carile, Giuseppe, 498
Cassels, James, 437, 438
Caste girls in India, 31
Catechists' Training Colleges (W. Africa), 186, 229
Cathcart, Sir George, 305
Cawood, S. Barratt, 332, 333
Centenary Methodist Fund (S.L.), 108
Central African Mission, 202, 204, 209 (cf. 346)
Ceylon, 24, 60
Chad, Lake, 203
Chaka, 283, 291

Champness, Thomas, in Sierra Leone, 96; on the Gold Coast, 167; his 'Joyful News' evangelists, 225
Chapels erected: in Sierra Leone, 77, 80, 92; at Ibadan, 211; at Grahamstown, 250, 303; at Cape Town, 260, 313; at Queenstown, 305; at Johannesburg, 341; at Mafeking, 345; in the Transvaal generally, 359; in Paris, 447; in Naples and Rome, 499; also *passim*
Chapman, Benjamin, 134
Chapman, George, 161, 162
Chartered Company, the, 380, 382, 383, 385, 386, 390, 392, 393, 405
Chikara, 408, 410
Chimanza, 407
China, 52, 56, 62; women's work in, 29, 30, 34
Chipembi, 409, 410
Chiremba, 387, 388
Chubb, Lady, 63
Chubb, Miss, 20
Chubb, Mrs., 43, 56, 65
Chubb, Theophilus, 309
Church Missionary Society, 20*n*, 86, 91, 114, 203, 209; its agents attacked, 206
Churchward, Miss, 28
Clarke, Isaac, 86
Clarkebury, 258, 271, 285, 287, 309, 319
Clarkebury district, 306
Clarkson, John, R. N., 74*n*
Class-meeting system, value of, 98, 222; opposition to, in Germany, 466
Clegg, A. H., 142
Clement, York F., 139
Coke, Thomas, 76, 77, 240, 445
Cole, W. T., 145
Coleman, Gertrude, 231
Colesberg, 311
'Coloured' members, 366
Combo country, 122, 123
Commassie. See *Kumasi*
Compound system in the mines, pros and cons of, 312, 342
Concordia, 247, 316
Cook, Charles, 421, 422, 446 ff
Cook, E., 247
Cook, Emile F., 452
Cook, J. Thornhill, 341
Cooling, Mrs., 59
Cooper, Richard, 138
Coppin, W. Terry, 162, 170, 177, 199, 203, 208, 230
Corfield, Mr., 430
Cornish miners, 316, 489
Cosenza, 498
Courties, John, 80, 83
Cox, Josiah, 34, 35, 51
Cradock, 253, 304
Creswell, T., 332
Croggon, W. C., 422, 423
Crosby, Benjamin, 86, 94
Crowley, —, 133, 134
Cummings, James, 31, 32
Cupidon, John, 128, 129, 132, 134
Currey, J., 366
Cuthbert, James, 210

D

Dadiasi, 178
Dahomey, 82, 217, 232; Freeman visits, 159, 162; savagery of the King of, 171; open to missions, 205
Dalzell, Mrs., 31
Damaraland, 314
Dannatt, Edward D., 105
D'Arcy, Colonel, 139
D'Aubigne, Merle, 446
Davie, Mr., and Mrs., 134
Davies, R. T., 145
Davies, William, 77, 78
Davis, William J., 292
Davis, Mrs. W. Shaw (*née* Clayton), 36
Dawson, Samuel, 80
Day Schools, advocated, 26; in Canton, 30, 36; in the Mysore district, 40. See *Educational work*
Deaconesses in Germany, 472

Dean, F., 145
Dednam, J., 341
De Graft, William, 153, 155, 156, 158
Delagoa Bay, 247, 251, 252, 261, 262, 263, 348, 357
Dengyasi, 178
Depa, 258
Dhlambi tribe, 256
Dias, Guilherme, 440
Diaz, Bartholomew, 238
Dieterle, Christian, 466, 474
Dingaan, 283, 291
Dinizulu, 343
Discipline Committee and T. B. Freeman, 164
Dixon, Dr. James, 477
Dixon, Robert, 141, 145
Dixcove, 157
Domanasi, 157
Domestic slavery, 206
Donkin, Sir Rufane, 248
Douthwaite, G., 372
Dove, Thomas, 87, 88, 91, 93, 128, 132*n*
Driefontein, 297
Drink trade a deadly peril, 197, 246, 306; results of, in Pondoland, 308; in Johannesburg, 352, 353
Dugmore, H. H., 290, 305
Dundee, 297
Dunwell, Joseph, 151, 152
Du Plessis, 270*n*, 273
Durban, 281, 282, 284; story of Methodism in, 292 ff
D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, 271, 272, 284
Durley, Mr. and Mrs. T., 492
Dutch, possessors of South Africa, 239; settlers, 242, 247, 313, 319; great trek of 1837, 275, 327; the troubles of 1848, 280. See *Boers*
Dutch Reformed Church, 240, 242 and *n*, 338
Dwabens, 178, 192
Dyer, G., 176
Dyson, Thomas S., 429

E

East Colesberg, 253
East London, 304, 306
Easter Offerings, the, 49
Edge, J., 193, 194
Edendale, 296, 297, 309, 319
Edney, James, 95, 101
Education, female, 24, 25, 34, 37, 38, 48; Ladies' Society for Promoting, 20; of caste girls in India, 31, 32. See *Girls' Boarding Schools*
Educational work, in West Africa, 90, 91, 99, 103, 104, 141, 145; summary of, 185, 229, 233; in South Africa, 305 *et passim*; summary of, 316; the Kilner report on, 323; in Italy, 491, 501. See *Kilnerton, Nengubo, & Girls' Schools, Industrial Schools*, &c.
Edwards, E., 245, 260, 261, 263
Edwards, John, 266, 267, 304
Edwards, Thomas, 94
Egbas, 210
Egga, 204
Egypt, 422
Ekert, G. J., 472
Ellenberger, J. S., 188, 193
Ellenberger, Lydia, 55
Elliott, Michael J., 203, 204, 424
Ellis, Mrs., 188
Elmina, 169
Emfundisweni, 62, 308, 309
Emotional religion, 145
English, William, 134
Epworth (Rhodesia), 382, 387, 388, 398, 401, 402
Erlangen, 468
Ermelo, 348, 372
Euba, W. B., 230
European and Native, the problem discussed, 270, 275
Europeans, provision for spiritual needs of, 191
Eva, G. H., 350, 354, 361, 372, 383
Evans, Maurice S., 277, 284, 285
Evansdale, 297

Evers, Peter J., 32
Ewnququa, 177

F

Faku, 308
Falaba, 104
Famine, in India (1876–77), 38; of 1897, 59
Fanti tribe, 148, 152; language, 183
Farmer, Sarah, 20, 33
Farmer, Mrs., 20, 33
Farmer-Atkinson, Mrs. (*née* E. Farmer), 33, 42
Farmerfield, 295
Farrar, Miss, 56
Farrar, Mrs. A. S. (*née* Wood), 20
Fattetenda, 131
Fauresmith, 311
Feneley, Charles, 142
Fentiman, Albert, 37
Fera, Saverio, 498
Feretti, Salvatore, 478, 483, 487, 492
Fernandes, J. A., 443
Fernley, Thomas, 499
Fernley Trust, 40 and *n*
Festa, Signor, 498
Fetishism, 175, 179
Ficksburg, 311
Fiditi, 211
Findlay, William H., 112–14, 144, 188, 214, 222, 227, 229
Fieldhouse, J., 138, 140, 141
Fingoes, 258, 283, 284, 287; settlement at Bembisa, 391
Fish River, 247, 256
Fleet, Henry, 88
Fletcher, James, 177
Fletcher, John, 450
Fletcher, Richard, 94
Florence, 478, 480, 512
Fogazzaro, Antonio, 496
Fort Beaufort, 253
Fort Peddie, 284, 287, 319
Fordsburg, 341, 351
Foulah tribes, 76, 84, 120, 121, 128, 133; scheme for the Mission to, 130
Fourah Bay College, 91, 114, 186
Fouricariah, 104
Foster, Robert, 510
Fox, William F., 86, 87, 128, 132, 134
France, need of the Methodist appeal, 444; French services begun in Paris, 447; revolution of 1830, 448; project for an independent Connexion, 452; first Conference, 457
Franklin, A. E., 205
Franklin, C. S., 333, 337
Freedmen, in Sierra Leone, 74–82
Free Evangelical Church of Italy, 512, 513
Free Italian Church, 495
Freeman, Thomas Birch, 153 ff, 173; attacked by John Watson, 161; severs his connexion with the Society, 164; comments on the case of, 165
Freetown, 74, 75, 94, 97, 108, 113; new chapels at, 80; collegiate school, 104; importance of, 111; four circuits in, 111; high school, 114; number of Muhammadans in, 199; visit to a Sunday school in, 231
French Revolution, 75, 445; of 1830, 448
French Wesleyan Mission, 446, 449, 450, 452

G

Gaikas, 243, 256, 257
Gallienne, Jean, 446, 448
Gallienne, Matthew, 446, 448, 451
Gambo, 390, 404
Gambia Mission, 79, 83, 84, 87, 91; 94; description, &c., 118; mission policy outlined, 125; epidemic in, 132; progress in, 136; statistics in 1860, 138; failure of the educational agency, 141; present position and needs, 145
Gambiza's Territory, 383
Gardiner, E. A., 213

Garibaldi, 504
Garibaldi Campaign, 489
Garner, W., 411
Garrett, John, 419
Garry, Walter P., 94
Gaskin, Joseph, 294
Gatooma, 411
Gavazzi, Alessandro, 492, 495, 497, 501
Gcaleka tribe, 258, 281, 286
Gedye, Edwin, 286
Genadendal, 243
Germany, beginnings of Methodism in, 460; Lutheran opposition, 462, 464, 465; statistics in 1874, 467; obstacles in Bavaria and Bohemia, 468, 469; union with M.E. Church of America, 472; statistics at time of union, 473
Gervasi, Giovanni, 504 and *n*
Gibbens, Mrs. (*née* Fanny Wood),61
Gibraltar, 417; beginnings in, 418; further refs., 419, 420, 438
Gibson, S. J., 187*n*
Gibson, William, 455, 457, 459, 495
Giddy, Richard, 267
Gifford, J., 214
Gill, Ann, 16
Gillison, John, 78
Girls' Boarding Schools, 24, 25, 29, 36, 37, 38, 40, 56, 183, 188, 305, 319
Gladwin, F. P., 278, 281
Glasgow Missionary Society, 320
Glenelg, Lord, 272, 275
Godman, Matthew, 99, 101, 102, 103, 108, 134, 141, 314
Gold Coast, 87, 94, 97; description, &c., of, 147; climate of, 148; Methodist beginnings, 151; beginnings in Ashanti, 154; statistics in 1843, 159; development and revival, 161; financial difficulties, 163; statistics in 1862 and 1873, 170, 173; separation of circuits, 173, 176; made a colony, 174; great increase in membership, 182; review of educational work, 185; rapid advance, 190; statistics in 1907, 193; changes in administration, 196
Good Hope Mission, 339, 350, 363, 367, 368, 369
Goodwin, W. T., 371
Goodwin, H. W., 354
Gordon, Edmund, 87
Goschen, 344
Goudie, William, 227
Graaf Reinet, 304
Grain Coast, 147
Graham, Colonel John, 248
Grahamstown, 248, 250, 253, 257, 303, 304, 318
Grahamstown District, 279
Granada, 428
Grant, Charles, 123, 125
Grantham, W. T., 404, 408
Great Fish River, 247, 256
Great Namaqualand, 242 ff, 280
Greece, 417, 423
Green, Mrs. Everett, 49, 56
Green, Richard, 478, 479, 481
Greenway, Charles M., 429
Greeves, Timothy T., 94, 162
Grey, Sir George, 284, 288, 318
Grey, S. D., 409, 410
Griffin, John R., 429, 430
Griffin, Oliver J., 224, 226
Griffin, W. R., 196, 200
Griffith, Mrs. R. D., 23
Grimmer, Matthew, 172
Griqualand East, 306
Griqua Town, 263
Griquas, 243, 310
Gualtieri, Bartholomew, 478, 483, 487
Guicciardini, Count, 482
Guildford, Lord, 423
Guinea Coast, 150
Guiton, Philip, 446, 452
Gulliford, Mrs. H. (*née* Pearson), 47
Gurney, A. J., 137
Gush, Robert A., 112
Guthrie, Dr. Thomas, 482
Gwaai River, 395, 400
Gwelo, 394

H

Haastrop, Mr. (Prince Ademuyiwa), 220
Haddy, Richard, 258
Haigh, Dr. Henry, 47
Haiti, 38
Hall, Mrs. Brames, 42, 56
Hall, Simon C., 182
Halligey, John T. F., 102, 105, 139, 148, 159, 177, 196, 208, 215; pioneer journeys of, 209–11
Hammond, J. O., 195
Handcock, William, 448
Hankow Women's Hospital, 53
Harbord, J. W., 103
Hardy, Samuel, 307, 315
Hardy, S. H., 371
Hargreaves, Peter, 286, 308
Harmon, C., 291
Harris, Miss, 64
Harrismith, 311
Harrop, B., 153, 154
Harte, Henry T., 80
Hartley, Marshall, visit of, to the Transvaal, 356
Hartleyton, 382, 383, 408
Harvey, Mrs. Morgan, 56, 63
Harvey, Miss Morgan, 63
Harvey, T. Morgan, 332, 363
Hastings (S.L.), 94, 95
Hawkins, Robert, 127
Hawtrey, J., 446
Hay, Annie, 491
Hay, Jessie, 40, 50, 62
Hayfron, R. J., 178
Heald, James, 318*n*, 499
Healdtown, 284, 287, 288, 291, 309, 318
Healey, John, 77
Heck, Barbara, 15
Heidelberg, 330, 349, 374
Heilbron, 311
Hellier, Anna M., 56
Hennessey, Sir John Pope, 100
Henry of Portugal, 238
Hero, James, 95
Hesk, Thompson, 156
Heslam, R., 140
Hindu, note on the word, 27
Hinduism, counter-propaganda of, 58; Hindu labour, 301
Hintza, 258, 282
Hirst, Thomas, 77
Hocart, James, 446, 447
Hodgson, T. L., 260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 313, 314
Hodson, Thomas, 23, 32
Holden, Sir Isaac, 459
Holden, William C., 293
Holdsworth Memorial Hospital, 62
Holloway, Jessie, 231
Hoole, Dr. Elijah, 18, 20, 279
Hoole, Mrs., 18, 19, 43
Hoole's Fountain, 247, 280
Hope Fountain, 386
Hopewell, Sister Nellie, 189*n*
Hottentots, 274, 278
Huddlestone, David, 102, 103
Huddlestone, John, 79, 80, 83, 85
Hudson, Josiah, 39
Huguenots, 444, 459
Hunt, Mrs. (John), 16
Hunter, William, 33
Huntingdon, Countess of, 445
Hut Tax agitation (S.L.), 100, 109
Hawkey, S. J., 372
Hymn-singing, influence on the Mashonas, 384

I

Ibadan, 210, 218, 228, 229
Iberian Peninsula, 417; work in, 427–43
Igbora, 225
Ijebu country, 210
Ijebu Remo, 219, 220, 223
Ijesa, 223
Ikorodu, 220
Ilesha, 223, 224, 225, 231
Impey, B. S. H., 312
Impey, Richard, 311
Impey, William, 287
Indaleni, 296
India, medical work in, 55; famines in, 38, 59
Indian problem in South Africa, the, 301

Industrial Missions, 128, 143
Industrial schools, 46, 60, 144, 182, 193, 284, 288, 319, 389, 393, 410
Ingham, Bishop, 75*n*, 111
Interpreters, disadvantage of the use of, 166–7
Intra, Home and Orphanage at, 60, 506
Ionian Islands, 417, 423
Iperu, 220, 225
Islam, see *Muhammadanism*
Isseyin, 210, 211
Italy, women's work in, 29; beginnings of Methodism in, 477; Waldensians and Brethren, 482; justification for the Mission, 483 f; Italian unification, 477, 491; educational work in, 491; burden of finance, 493; District Synods formed, 496; head quarters transferred to Rome, 501; Wesleyans and M.E. Church, 512; comparative table of statistics, 514
Ivory Coast, 147
Ivrea, 479

J

Jabalpur Orphanage, 59, 62
Jackman, Miss A. J., 183
Jacoby, Ludwig, 462
Jagar, Johannes, 246
James, J. C., 340
James, John, 86
James, William, 133, 134
Jameson, Dr. L. S., 378, 382, 385
Jaulmes, Pastor, 457
Jebba, 223
Jehu, David, 88
Jenkin, John, 176
Jenkins, Mrs. Ebenezer, 28
Jenkins, Thomas, 267, 308
Jeppestown, 341
Jersey, Henri de, 446, 447, 448, 457
Jesuits, 137, 450
Jevons, Solomon, 61
Jillifree, 131
Jobson, Dr., 467
Johnson, C. R., 214
Johnson, F. H., 143
Johnston, Sir Harry H., 119, 197
Johnston, W. H., 466
Johannesburg, 328, 331, 340, 342, 350; native work at, 350, 352, 361; explosion of 1896, 351; statistics in 1904, 360
Johns, Clement, 308
Johns, J. C., 365
Jollofs, 84, 120, 126, 138
Jonono's Kop, 297
Jones, Ellis, 203
Jones, Thomas W. S., 488, 491, 494 ff, 511
Jope, Edward, 102
'Joyful News' evangelists, 225, 229
Jubb, A. T., 194
Juff, William, 132
Jumpers, 341
*Juvenile Offering*, 19

K

Kafir converts, 29
Kafirland, 252
Kafir language, 259
Kafir Mission, story of, 253 ff
Kafir tribe, 248, 252, 253; described, 254; self-destruction of thousands of, 286; spiritual capacity of, 293
Kafir wars, the, 267, 270 ff
Kaffraria, 254, 279, 281, 283, 285
Kalahari Desert, 254
Kama, 257, 281, 282, 287
Kamastone, 255, 284, 306
Karoo Desert, 243
Kat River district, 256
Kay, Stephen, 245, 263, 265
Keeling, John, 419, 422
Keightley, John, 85
Keiskamma River, 256, 282
Kemp, Dennis, 148, 180, 181, 182, 186, 189, 195, 198, 215
Kemp, Mrs., 182, 183, 188
Kendrick, Sergeant, 239, 250; letter of, to Dr. Coke, 240

Kerpezdron, Armand de, 445 and *n*, 446
Khamiesberg, 244, 253, 263, 264, 280, 315, 337
Kilner, John, 25, 33, 284, 322
Kilnerton, 350
Kilnerton (farm), 363
Kilnerton Training Institution, 337, 363–5
Kimberley, 311–13
King, J. W., 143
King Tom's Institution, 91, 94, 99
King William's Town, 257, 287, 305
Kingsley, Miss, 181, 189
Kingstown, 306
Kintampo, 193
Kladno, 469
Klass Dhoba, 334
Klerksdorp, 260, 373
Klip River, 297
Knight, Charles, 91, 94
Koforidua, 179, 192
Kok, Adam, 306
Kollerfontein, 354
Kona, Samuel, 396
Kong Mountains, 148
Korannas, 263, 279, 295
Korenda, 390
Krielie, 278
Kronstadt, 311, 331
Kroo labourers, 220
Kroomen, 84, 220
Kruger, Paul, 329
Krugersdorp, 374
Kukofu province, 178
Kumasi, 155 ff, 167, 170, 175, 191, 193
Kumm, Mrs. Karl, 220
Kuruman, 344
Kwenda, 383, 404, 406, 411

L

Ladies' Auxiliary, 41. See *Women's Auxiliary*
Ladies' Committee (first name of W.A.), 21
Ladies' Society for Promoting Female Education, 20
Lagos, 38, 157, 158, 162, 172, 196; District, 202–33; churches, &c., described, 205; statistics in 1913, 212; 'an open door' not entered, 218; the mission to Ijebu Remo, 220; Report of W. H. Findlay on the District, 227; educational work, 229
Lagos Sections, the, 173, 176
Laity on the Mission-field, 351, 352
Laing, Timothy, 174
Laird, Mackenzie, 89, 92
Lamb, Henry, 141
Lamplough, F., 305
Lamplough, Williamson, 511
Lander, Richard, 158
Lane, George, 79, 80, 84, 124
Langdon, Samuel, 60
Langlaagte, 341
Lapland, Mission to, 426
Lattakoo, 263, 265 and *n*
Lausanne, 450, 451, 457
Lawley, Sir Arthur, 358
League of Nations and liquor traffic, 198, 352
Le Bocage, 452
Lees, Frederick A., 214
Legends and superstitions, Romish, 484
Leigh, George, 135
Lemon Island, 126
Leo XIII., pontificate of, 507
Leopold, C. L., 145
Lesseyton, 284, 305, 319
Lewis, Sir Samuel, 108
Lidgett, Mrs., 43, 56, 66
Lille, 447
Lilyfontein, 244, 246, 261
Limbah Mission, 102, 113
Limpopo River, 337, 346, 350, 378
Lindoe, Dr., 129
Links, Jacob, 245, 246, 314
Links, Peter, 246, 247
Lisbon, 441, 442
Lissolo, Benedetto, 479, 487
Little Namaqualand, 243
Little, Henry, 39
Little, Miss, 59

Little Popo, 205, 207, 208, 211, 212
Lobengula, 380, 383
Lomagondi district, 382, 387
London Missionary Society, 242, 243, 260, 265, 272, 344, 367, 381, 386, 401
Longas, Miguel, 432
Longden, John, 286, 287
Longden, William R., 286
Lord, J. W., 431
Lorenzo Marques, 348, 349
Loveless, J. H., 408, 409
Lovedale Training Institution, 284, 320, 348
Lowe, George, 338, 340, 349, 355, 367
Lucas, Peter, 448
Ludorf, D. M., 328, 330
Lumley, 86
Luther, 467
Lutheran opposition to Methodism, 462, 464
Lydenburg, 331, 333, 367, 368
Lyon, Mr., 420
Lyth, Dr. John, 460, 464, 465, 467
Lyth, Richard B., 138

M

Macaba's Stad, 373
McCarthy, Sir Charles, 78, 82, 121, 122
McCarthy's Island, 87, 119, 121, 126–7, 129, 133, 137, 142, 143
Macaulay, Zachary, 75
M'Arthur, Sir William, 100
MacBrair, R. M., 120, 129, 130, 131, 132*n*, 423
Macdonald, Flora, 58
Macdonald, F. W., 359, 433, 474, 476, 510
Macdonald, George, 147*n*, 149*n*
Macdonald, Mrs. George B., 20
McKenny, J., 240, 242
Mackenzie, John, 344
Maclean, Governor, 153, 155, 160
McLean, S. T., 145
M'Mullen, James, 418
Macpherson, Donald, 422, 423
McVicker, Annie, 189
Madagascar, 261, 262, 263
Madden, Dr., 90
Maddison, George, tragic death of, 352
Madiai, the, 483
Madrid, 430, 431
Maer, Edward, 86
Mafeking, 336, 340, 345, 350, 353; circuit, 366
Magata, David, 329, 335
Magaliesberg, 329
Magvini (Italian evangelist), 483
Mahamba, 296, 340, 370, 371
Mahy, William, 445 and *n*
Makalanga tribe, 381, 397
Makapan Stad, 354
Makwassi, 261, 263
Malays at Cape Town, 313
Malta, 417, 419, 422, 424
Mandanaree, 122, 123, 140
Mandingoes, 84, 119, 130, 137
Mankessim, 161
Manocchi, Giacomo, 498
Mansfield, Earl of, 74
Mantatees, 261, 267, 279, 295
Mantiziba, 397
Marke, Charles, 104
Marke, William B., 104
Marke, William G., 104, 105
Maroons, 75, 77, 93
Marriage question in W. Africa, 116, 179
Marshall, Richard, 128
Martha-Maria Verein, 472
Martin, F. J., 224
Martin, J., 162
Martin, Lewis, 448
Mashaba, Robert, 348, 349
Mashonaland Mission, 346, 350, 383
Mashonas, 391–2, 394, 401; hymn-singing amongst, 384
Mason, Fredk., 294, 309, 324
Matabeleland, 381
Matabele tribe, 261, 329, 380, 385, 386, 388, 391, 395, 405
Matebule, Nathaniel, 298

Mathabathe, Samuel, 337 ff, 367, 369
Matoppo Hills, 378, 386
Matthews, A. C., 213, 228
Maude, William H., 106, 107*n*
May, J. Claudius, 94*n*, 110
May, Joseph, 94, 95, 135, 137
May, John, 80, 83
Mazzano Inferiore, 490
Mazzarella, Buonaventura, 482, 483
Meadows, George, 134, 135, 137
Medical Missions, 47; need of, in the Gambia, 143; at Lagos, 225; begun in Rhodesia, 411
'Medical Wants' Associations, 67
Mediterranean Missions, 420–4
Mendis, 84, 102, 109
Messina, 497
Methodism, system of, specially adapted to the Mission field, 98, 222
Methodist Episcopal Church, 462, 495, 503; union of German and Austrian Wesleyans with, 472–5; arrangements with in Italy, 512
*Methodist Magazine*, 239; and the Gibraltar work, 418
Methodist soldiers, 239, 241, 250, 418
Mfantsipim, 187
Middelburg, 304, 374
Milan, 481, 489, 491, 512
Milner, Lord, 358
Milum, John, 38, 153, 164, 172, 202, 204, 207, 222
Milum, Mrs., 38, 204
Missionaries, difficulty of stationing, 264, 321
Missionaries and the holding of land, 293
Missionaries and the Race problem, 406
Missionaries, renegade, 106, 212
Missionaries, West African, tributes to, 135, 214, cf. 307; tributes to Native ministers, 194, 233
Missionary Committee, and Sierra Leone, 85; and the Gambia Mission, 122; and T. B. Freeman's case, 164; and the Namaquas, 245; and W. Shaw's scheme, 257; joint letter to, by S. A. missionaries, 262; and the work in the Transvaal, 332–3, 345; appoint a new chairman for Transvaal District, 355; and the mission to Spain, 427; and the French Connexion, 455
*Missionary Notices*, 244, 254, 290
Moister, William, 128, 129, 280, 314
Molele, Molimile, 386
Molema, 328, 335, 336
Momo, Kaikai, 110
Montsioa, 328, 335, 336, 345
Monrovia, 109
Montorfano, 505
Moravians, 243
Morel, E. D., 214
Moreno, Giuseppe, 489, 513
Moreton, R. H., 438, 440 ff
Morgan, E. H., 354
Morgan, John, 84, 121, 123, 126, 128, 135
Morill, J. M., 465
Morley, Dr. George, 239
Morley, 258, 271, 281, 306
Morris, J. Scholefield, 313, 350, 354
Moseley, G. C., 370
Moselikatse, 329
Moshaneng, 310, 328, 335
Moshesh, 266, 280
Moss, W. S. F., 133, 134
Mount Coke, 257, 287, 306
Mowson, C. W., 350, 364, 371
Mparani, 279, 295
Mpini, 400, 401
Mpukane, 279
Msimang, Daniel, 296, 298, 339, 343, 371
Muhammadanism, 80, 108; influence of, 120, 127; menace of, in the Gambia, 146; in West Africa generally, 198, 233; place of final conflict with Christianity, 221
Mühleder, J. F., 214, 217

Mungo Park, 89 and *n*
Munich, 470, 472
Munro, William, 83, 85
Müller, Gottlieb, 460 ff
Murdoch, Archibald, 76
Murray, George, 328
Muttulakshmi, case of, 57
Mysore, High-caste Ladies' School in, 47

N

Namaquas, changed habits of, 245; nomadic, 253; mission to, abandoned, 314
Naples, 479, 489, 494, 499
Nast, Dr. Wilhelm, 462
Natal, 262, 290; the Natal Mission, 282; declared a British colony, 292; a separate District, 293; rapid expansion of Methodism in, 294; Indian problem, 301; Synod of, and Transvaal Mission, 331, 333
National Children's Home, 62
Native Agents, 67
Native Land Bill, 376
Native members, standard of character of, 361, 362
Native Ministry, (W.A.), 91, 166, 233, 194; (S.A.), 296, 319, 323, 359, 403
Native Races Commission, 362
Natives and the 'compound system,' 312
Neff, Felix, 451
Nengubo, 383, 412; training institution at, 389, 401, 402, 412
Neusalz, 468
Newstead, Robert, 447, 448
Newtondale, 282, 284
Niger, Expedition of 1841, 89; of 1857, 92
Niger River, 89 and *n*, 152; hinterland of, 90; delta of, 209, 214; conditions after its overflow, 214
Nîmes, 451, 457
Nisbett Bath, 246, 247, 280
Normandy, 445 and *n*, 446, 455
North German Missionary Society, 203
Nova Scotian freedmen, 75, 76, 81, 83, 84*n*, 85, 93, 112
Nupé Country, 204, 208, 209, 217, 222
Nuremberg, 468, 472
Nuttall, Ezra, 294

O

Obuasi, 191
*Occasional Paper*, 21, 32
Ode, 220
Ogier, M., 451
Ogbomoso, 210, 211
Ogun River, 157, 158
Olifant River, 367
Oliveira, Julio d', 441
Olverton (farm) purchased, 354
Ookiep, 246, 316
Ophirton, 341
Oporto, 349, 437 ff
Orange Free State, 280, 310
Orange River, 310
Orphanages, 39, 40, 46, 59, 60, 506
Osborn, S., 411
Osborn, George, 96, 97
Osborn (Mission Station), 307
Ossu, Ansah, 167
Owen, Samuel, 424
Oyo, 210, 211, 218, 226

P

Padua, 491, 492, 496
Palestine, 417, 421
Palhal mines, 439
Palermo, 495, 497, 512
Palmer, Agnes, 52, 61
Palmer, S., 271
Palmerton, 306, 308
Pamla, Charles, 289, 291
Papal infallibility, 500
Paris, 447
Parker, A. W., 184, 195
Parkinson, James, 133
Parma, 487, 489, 490, 495
Parsonson, George, 134

Pato, 281, 282
Patten, William, 76
Patterson, Richard, 86
Patucelli, Donato, 488
Pazdral, 469
Peck, William R., 83, 85
Peet, J. H., 139
Penrose, William, 213
Percival, Peter, 20
Perkins, William, 186, 434*n*, 435
Perks, George T., 322, 495
Persecution, instances of, 338, 438, 462, 496
Philip, Dr., 265, 272, 273
Phipson, T. L., 307
Picken, William H. J., 57
Picot, James, 176
Picot, Thomas R., 172 ff
Piercy, Mrs., 29, 30
Pietermaritzburg, 294, 295, 296, 333
Pietersburg, 369
Piggott, Henry J., 5, 80*n*, 478 ff; extracts from memorandum of, 483 and *passim*; close of ministry, 511
Piggott, William, 80 and *n*, 84
Piggott, W. Charter, 80*n*
Pilgrim's Rest, 331, 368
Pius IX, 507–9
Platberg, 266, 267, 279, 280
Plymouth Brethren, 482, 495, 501
'Policy of Advance,' a (1901), 391
Pollensa, 431
Polygamy, advocated, 116; attitude of the W. African missionaries to, 179 (cf. 401)
Pondoland, 308, 309
Pondos, 258, 285, 308, 309
Pool, —, 142
Pope, Dr. W. B., 463
Popo district, 176, 205
Porri, C. C., 432
Port Elizabeth, 248, 253, 304
Port Mahon, 429, 432, 434
Porto, Nova, 171, 205, 208, 211, 232
Portugal, 238; work in, 437–43
Potchefstroom, 328 ff, 340, 350, 353, 373
Potter, Captain, 151, 153, 170
Prah River, 169
Provincial Synods in S. Africa, 321, 324
Pretoria, 328, 330, 333, 341, 363–6
Pretoro, Michele de, 498
Printing-press established, at Sierra Leone, 91; at Cape Coast Castle, 184
Prohibition on the Gold Coast, 198
Proto, Father, 489
Pullen, W. T., 141, 142
Punshon, W. Morley, 447
Puy de Dôme, 455

Q

Quarna, 505
*Quarterly Paper*, 41, 48, 54*n*
Queenstown, 253, 303, 305, 319; statistics of the district, 306
Queenswood School for Girls, 305
Quilter, Henry J., 139
Quetteville, Jean de, 445, 446
Quick, William A., 94

R

Radcliffe, Catherine J., 35
Ragghianti, Salvatore, 497
Ranga, 400
Raston, Thomas, 92, 93
Raynar, Jonathan, 77
Rayner, W. E., 290
Reali, Ferdinando, 498
Reay, Lionel Dods, 105
Reed, Sister Agnes, 189
Reform agitation, the, 92
Reggio, 512
Reitfontein, 245
Restarick, Mrs. A. E. (*née* Kilner), 50
Retief, Pieter, 291
Revivals: at Sierra Leone, 91, 97; in the Gambia, 129; on the Gold Coast, 161, 202; at Lagos, 216; in Cape Town, 289; at Epworth (Rhodesia), 398; in the Vaudois, 448; at Winnenden, 462
Revolution of 1830, 448

Rhenish Missionary Society, 247
Rhodes, Cecil, 312, 344, 346, 378, 381, 385, 386, 388
Rhodes, Joseph, 207, 208, 220
Rhodesia, the name given, 378; missionaries first sent, 382; the 'Raid,' 385; made an independent district, 390; forward move contemplated, 391; census of 1904, 401; the Zambezi crossed, 409; statistics of 1913, 413
Ribbi, 106
Richmond, H. H., 182, 196, 215
Richmond College (S.L.), 114, 186
Ridsdale, Benjamin, 314
Rigg, Edmund, 471
Rigg, Dr. J., 419
Riggall, H. A., 192, 193
Rinderpest, the, 353, 385
Ritchie, William, 85
Ritson, Dr. J., 434, 435, 442
River Mission (Gambia), 140
Roach, D. Boyle, 145
Roberts, Mrs. J., 24
Roe, Bryan, 209, 211, 214, 216, 217, 219
Rogers, S. J., 366
Roland, Giacomo, 497, 513
Rolland, G., 366, 369
Roman Catholic faith, in Italy, 480, 483
Romanists, 138, 205
Rome, 484, 499 ff
Romish priests, influence of, in Spain, 420, 427, 429, 436, 438
Rosenblad, Count, 426
Rostan, Jean, 446, 448, 457
Rostan, Louis, 448
Rovigo, 496
Rowe, S. E., 294
Rowe, Mrs. Stringer, 20
Rowland, Thomas, 157
Rowley, Mrs. W. (*née* Gough), 61
Royapettah, Girls' Boarding School at, 24, 25, 32, 36
Royal Charter, to the Sierra Leone Colony, 75; to the British South Africa Co., 346
Rule, Dr. W. H., 419 ff
Rumfitt, J. F., 350
Russell, J. D., 186, 187, 193

S

St. Bartholomew (W.I.), 426
St. Mary's Island (Gambia), 118, 124, 125, 141, 143
St. Mary's, Bathurst, 87, 93
St. Roque, 420
Salah, Pierre, 129, 132, 134
Salem, 249, 250, 284, 337
Salerno, 489
Salisbury (Rhodesia), 380, 382, 383, 386, 387, 393, 402
Salvation Army, 382
Samuel, J. H., 230
Sanctis, Luigi de, 483, 492, 495
Sanders, William, 87, 132
Sawday, Mrs., 46
Scarborough, Mrs., 34
Scarcies, 106
Scarcies River, 104, 113
Scharlieb, Dr. Mary, 52
Schorndorf, 467
Schmelen, W., 242, 243
Schmidt, George, 242, 243
Schrader, Mrs., 17
Schreiner, Gottlieb, 288
Sciarelli, Francesco, 488, 489, 490, 494, 500, 501
Scoccia, Loreto, 487,
Scott, George, 424, 426
Scott, James, 311
Scott, Mrs. John, 20
Scriptures translated, in the Gambia, 129, 141; into Fanti, 183; into Dahomeyan, 208; into Kafir, 259; into Mashona, 389, 403
Sekhukhuniland, 370
Sekondi, 147, 170, 190
Selukwe, 394, 395, 396, 397, 408
Select Committee on Aborigines, 273
Serias, 140
Settlers of 1820, the, 248–51
Shamagu, 220
Sharp, Granville, 75

Sharp, A. S., 340, 350, 366, 390, 392, 393, 394
Sharpe, James A., 204
Shaw, Barnabas, 237, 241 ff, 280; leaves for Namaqualand, 242; returns to England, 260; last years and death of, 314
Shaw, Mrs., 16, 243
Shaw, William, 237, 249 ff, 257, 265, 280, 281, 284, 295, 322; his 'chain of stations,' 252, 303; and the Kafirs, 255; in England, 274; last years and death of, 298
Shawbury, 306, 319
Shawville, 281
Sheldon, G. S., 373
Shepstone, William, 255, 258, 259, 271, 281, 282, 306
Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, 255
Sherbro' Mission, 102, 104, 109, 110, 112
Shimmin, Isaac, 340, 346, 350, 354, 381, 382, 383, 384, 390
Shipman, Samuel A., 156, 157
Shodeke, 159
Shonga, 204
Shrewsbury, W. J., 251, 258, 284
Sicily, 498
Sidmouth, Lord, 248
Sierra Leone, name, description, and history, 73; expeditions to, 74; Royal Charter granted, 75; beginnings of Methodism in, 76; early fatalities in, 80; difficulties of the work, 81; divisions in the Society at, 83, 86; statistics in 1833, 85; in 1837, 87; printing-press established, 91; rapid progress, 92; circuit divided, 94; population in 1860, 97; Hut tax in, 100; Protectorate organized, 103; Boys' High School, 99, 110; ill-timed economy, 111; views of W. H. Findlay, 112; tendency to disunion, 115; future of the work, 116
Sikonycle, 295
Silva, Alfredo H. Da, 441, 443
Simonstown, 242, 260
Sixosa language, 389
Simpson, Robert, 430
Simpson, Thomas A., 442, 443
Slave Coast, 147
Slavery, 'domestic,' 206
Slave trade in 1857, 93; on the Gold Coast, 149; in Lagos, 157, 162
Slave-ships turned into chapels, 89
Smith, Franklyn G., 430 ff, 440
Smith, Sir Harry, 280
Sneath, Alec A., 187*n*
Snowdall, R., 260, 263
Soldiers, Methodist, 239, 241, 250, 418
Solomon, J. A., 195
Somerset, 253
Somerset East, 294, 304
Somerset West, 260, 280
Somerset, Lord Charles, 240, 248
Somerville, W. F., 186, 191, 192; memorial church to, 192
South Africa, history of, 238; beginnings of Methodism in, 241; attitude of Government, 241, 284; revival of 1866, 289; the Indian problem, 301; summary of educational work in, 316; first independent Conference in, 320; statistics in 1893, 325
'Southampton Committee' and the Foulahs, 129, 133
Spain, 419, 420, 427–37
Spencer, Mr., 133
Spencer, J. Smith, 315, 324
Spensley, Calvert, 294
Spezia, 492, 501
Springbok, 246
Standerton, 374
Stanlake, J. W., 383, 385, 387, 390, 395, 399, 400, 404, 411
Start, Joseph, 319
Stationing of Missionaries, difficulties of, 321
Stead, J. W. H., 142
Steinlen, Gottlieb, 463
Stellaland, 344

Stellenbosch, 260, 314
Stephens, J. Rayner, 424
Stephens, Dr. J. R. C., 225
Stephenson, Mrs. R., 25
Stephenson, Dr. T. B., 189
Stinson, Dr. Joseph, 419
Stockholm, 424
Strubel, Imanuel, 461
Stott, Ralph, 294, 303
Sudan, the, movement towards, 221
Sugden, Louisa, 52
Suicide of a nation, 286
Sunday Schools on the Gold Coast, 182, 224; extraordinary value of in African work, 231 (cf. 318)
Sutcliffe, J. Dawson, 196, 209, 219, 220, 226
Sutcliffe, Mrs., 214
Swallow, William, 132, 134
Swaziland, 339, 340, 349, 370; mission, 296
Sweden, 424–6
Swedish Missionary Society, 426
Sweet River, 169
Switzerland, 450, 451, 455, 457
Symons, Samuel, 134
Syracuse, 497

T

Taglialatela, Pietro, 498
Takoradi, 147
Tamil Girls' School, 25
Tancrowall, 118
Tasker, Dr. J. G., 466
Taylor, James, 101
Taylor, William (evangelist), 289
Teal, Francis, 96
Tebekwe, 397
Tegwani River Settlement, 388, 389, 390, 395, 400, 404
Telapi, 297
Tembuland, 305
Tembu tribe, 305
Temneland, 104
Tentabar, 122, 123
Thaba Nchu, 266, 267, 279, 280, 282, 295, 310, 311, 328, 335, 337, 366
Thackwray, William, 156
Thomas, J. S., 285
Thomas, W. E., 404
Thornton, Henry, 75
Thorne, J., 329
Thorpe, Daniel W., 104
Threlfall, William, 246, 251, 262, 314
Timbuctoo, 134
Timmanees, 75, 82, 110
Tindall, Joseph, 314
Titcomb, Ernest, 354, 376
Toase, William, 446, 448
Todd, William, 295
Togoland, 160, 205, 208, 216, 217, 218, 232
Tourgis, P., 447
Transkei, 272
Transvaal, beginnings of Methodism in, 327; potentialities of wealth, 330; gold discovered, 331, 340; Boers obtain independence, 332; union of Mission with S.A. Conf. discussed, 345; war of 1899–1902, 347, 354; visit of Rev. Marshall Hartley, 1902, 356; financial problems of the District, 360; great extension of the work, *ib.*; closing remarks, 374; comparative table of statistics, 377
Transvaal District, 296, 339
Transvaal and Swaziland Mission, 327, 333, 347; District, 351, 358
Tregaskis, Benjamin, 99, 100, 110, 139
'Trek,' story of a great, 237
Tucker, Mr., 279
Turin, 479, 481
Turner, Mrs., 16
Twentieth Century Fund, 229

U

Uitenhage, 304
Uitkyk, 363, 373
Ulrich, Karl, 217
Umzilikazi, 381
Underwood, W. J., 340, 350, 371
Unzondelelo, 297, 298
Uva Mission, 55, 60

V

Van der Kemp, 273
Vansittart, Mr., 248
Vasco da Gama, 238
Venables, Mr., 382
Vereeniging, 374
Vernon, Dr., 503
Verulam, 23, 295
Vicenza, 496
Vienna, 466, 468; details of the work in, 474–6
Von Langenau, Baroness, 475, 476
Vumgwi River, 397

W

Waiblingen, 466
Wainman, T. H., 350, 367, 373
Waite, John, 172
Wakkerstroom, 331
Walden, Charles, 156
Waldensians, 444, 448, 451, 459, 481, 482, 495
Wall, Thomas, 132, 133
Walton, Avon, 401, 411, 412
Walton, James, 107
Walton, John, 24, 32, 282, 320, 324
Warner, Mrs., 29
Warren, Sir Charles, 344, 345
Warren, George, 77
Watch Committee at Selukwe, 396
Waterberg Mission, 354
Watkins, Benjamin, 162
Watkins, Owen, 296, 337, 364, 382, 383; and the Transvaal Mission, 333; incessant travels of, 336; in Swaziland, 339; journey to Zululand, 343; crosses the Limpopo, 346; retirement, 347
Watson Institution, the, 295
Watson, John, 156, 157, 160–1
Watson, Richard, 82, 257, 418, 421
Watson, T. F., 350, 368
Weatherston, John C., 96
Weavind, George, 330, 333, 336, 337, 340, 341, 343, 347, 348, 350, 355, 372, 383
Webb, Jonathan, 336
Webster, Harry, 229
Wedza Reserve, 407
Welbon, F. W., 229
Wellington, 86, 94
Wesley, John, 76, 417, 445*n*
Wesley, Susanna, 15
Wesley Deaconesses, 101, 189, 231, 362
Wesley Guild and Lagos, 224
Wesley Vale, 247
Wesleyan Female Educational Institution (S.L.), 101
Wesleyan High School and Training Institution (S.L.), 99, 105, 110
*Wesleyan Methodism in Sierra Leone*, 105
Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, first Conference of, 320
Wesleyan names to S. African towns, 284*n*
Wesleyan Native Home Mission, 298
Wesleyville, 256, 257, 259, 271, 281
West Coast of Africa, treacherous climate of, 79, 80, 114, 118, 132, 149; 1841 a memorable year for, 89; rules for guarding health, 115; tribute to missionaries, 135; natural resources of, more appreciated, 190; reflections on our missions to, 232
West, Daniel, 163, 164
West, William, 163, 164, 165, 166 and *n*, 170; his visit to Kumasi described, 167–9
Wharton, Henry, 162, 163, 172
White *v.* Black in S. Africa, the problem discussed, 269 (cf. 405)
White, John, 383, 389, 394, 398, 399, 408, 411
Whiteside, J., 289, 297, 322
Whitney, T. C., 371
Whitworth, James, 262, 263
Whydah, 159, 160, 162, 171, 205, 207
Wilberforce, William, 75
Wilberforce (Sierra Leone), 86
Wilkinson, Henry, 129, 132

Wilks, Arthur H., 441, 442
Williams, E. J., 205
Williams, E. W., 230
Williams, Mr., 204
Williams, Ralph H., 107, 142, 143
Williams, T. E., 213
Willington, J. H., 209
Windhuk, 247
Winfield, T. W., 205, 207
Winnebah, 155
Winnenden, 460 ff
Winston, W. Ripley, 47
Wiseman, Mrs. notice of, 42–46; visit of, to India and Ceylon, 53; mentioned, 60, 61, 65, 66
Witwatersrand, 340, 349; Native Circuit, 361
Wittebergen, 311
Wolseley, Lord, 332
Women's Auxiliary, genesis of, 20; plans of, 22; first balance-sheet, 23; first missionary sent, 24; report of, in 1868, 31; in 1873, 35; in 1878, 39; developments, 1879–89, 50; jubilee of, 45, 64; local district committees formed, 49; medical work, 47, 51, 61; new stations occupied, 1888–98, 55; changes of name made, 40, 51, 56; industrial schools, 60; report for 1908, 61; home organization of, 22, 63; relations of to parent Society, 68. See also 188, 230, 309, 434*n*, 491
Women, early work of, on the mission field, 16, 17
Worthington, Ethel, 189
Wright, Joseph, 91, 94
Wrigley, G. O., 87, 153, 154, 155
Würtemberg District, 466
Wykes, Miss, 434
Wynberg, 242, 260, 314
Wynne, William, 330, 363

## Y

Yeji, 199
Yeileh, 109
'Yellow Chapel,' the (Grahamstown), 250, 303
York Circuit (Sierra Leone), 94, 95
Yoruba country, 202, 209
Yoruba Interior Mission, 212
Yoruba race, 157, 158; character of, 223
Yoruba section, 208
Young, Samuel, 259

## Z

Zambezi River, 330, 335, 346, 378, 391, 403
Zante, 417, 422
Zenana work, 19, 38, 39, 62
Zimbabwe, 379
Zirndorf, 468
'Zoutpansberg, Good Hope Mission,' 339 and *n*, 340; circuit, 367
Zuurveld, 248, 257
Zulus, 254, 283, 291, 329, 343, 381; Zulu War, 332
Zuzumba, 405

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
CALIFORNIA
6714

Printed in Great Britain
by Southampton Times Limited, Southampton

6714

BV
2550
A7
H5
V.4

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

6714